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NARRATIVE

OF A

TOUR IN TURKEY AND PERSIA.

THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE . . . . . BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES AND PROPHETS, JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF BEING THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE.

THE PROPHECY.

ASK OF ME, AND I WILL GIVE THEE THE HEATHEN FOR THINE INHERITANCE, AND THE UTTERMOST PARTS OF THE EARTH FOR THY POSSESSION.

David.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

[illegible]

NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

THROUGH

ARMENIA, KURDISTAN,

PERSIA AND MESOPOTAMIA,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

AND

OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS

UPON

THE CONDITION OF MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

By the Rev. HORATIO SOUTHGATE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Ἐποίησέ τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.—Acts of the Apostles.

NEW-YORK:

D. APPLETON & CO. 200 BROADWAY.

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PREFACE.

THE Mission, whose history is detailed in the following pages, was performed under the direction of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The circumstances which led to its origin are preserved in the records of the Committee, and have been laid before the world. I need not, therefore, dwell upon them here.

With regard to the report of my labours which I now present to the Church, a few remarks only are necessary. The author has found it impossible to embrace, in a publication of ordinary size, all the information which he has gathered. He has, therefore, omitted the narrative of his journey through European Turkey, as well as of two excursions in the Western part of Asia Minor. He has withheld, moreover, an account of the recent and present reforms in Turkey, for which he had gathered ample materials, and has confined himself to a few incidental notices of them, which will be found scattered in different parts of the narrative. The full account would have occupied a space equal to half of one of the volumes now offered to the public. He has, also, been compelled, for the same reason, to confine himself, in his survey of Mohammedanism, to the most

essential points in its present character and condition, without indulging in speculative disquisitions upon the numerous topics of interest which they suggest, or carrying out the information detailed, in all its bearings upon the advancement of Christianity in the regions over which his survey extended. Reflections of this kind would have been intended chiefly for the use of the Committee under which he acted, and can be conveyed to them, as they have already, in part, been, by a more private mode of communication.

While the author was pursuing his inquiries among the Mohammedans, he soon found his mind drawn, almost unconsciously, to the state of the Eastern Churches, and his interest became, at length, so deeply excited in their behalf, that he devoted to them all the attention which the more immediate duties of his work permitted. The information which he collected and the views which he formed, are, so far as his limits allowed, embraced in the following narrative.

With regard to the plan of the work, he has endeavoured to combine, as much as possible, incident with instruction, and to relieve the dullness of statistical information by the interest of personal experience and adventure. A map of the countries surveyed being indispensable in a work of this nature, much time and labour have been expended upon it. In constructing it, a valuable French map, the most accurate of any which had come under the notice of the author, was selected as a basis, and its authority followed in most parts which the writer did not survey. Along his own route, however, every thing is original, excepting the latitude and longi-

tude of the principal places. These were taken, in part, from the French map, and, in part, from the best English authorities.

In the explanation of foreign terms, I have followed the course which I have always desired to see pursued in works upon the East. I have explained them where they first occur, either by a brief definition in the text, or by a note in the margin, excepting a few instances, in which they are explained by the context. In the most important cases, or where the meaning would not readily be remembered, the definition is repeated, or referred to, on the recurrence of the term. In the first instance, the original word is uniformly printed in Italics, which the reader may regard as an intimation to fix the meaning firmly in his memory.

Of the engravings, I am indebted to *Rich's Residence in Kurdistan*, for the views of the City of Arbela and the Ruins of Nineveh. That of the Temple of Mecca was selected from an old work, but is presented as corrected, by the author, from the best authorities in his possession. The View of Constantinople, which is the most comprehensive and accurate that I remember to have seen, I caused to be taken by a European Artist in Constantinople. The Persian Heads are from original paintings by natives of that country. For the other sketches the author alone is responsible.

Several items of information which could not conveniently be embraced in the narrative, are given in the appendix, to which I have added some other pieces, particularly rules for the pronunciation of foreign terms, and a table of the distances travelled each day during my principal tour.

My acknowledgments for aid received in my work are, for the most part, made in the course of my narrative. I cannot, however, forbear to add in this place, the expression of my deep gratitude to the Committee, under which I went forth, for their hearty co-operation in all the plans and labours of my Mission, and also to the two Secretaries, the Rev. Dr. Milnor and the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, under the superintendence of the first of whom the work was commenced, and during the official term of the second, is now brought to a close. Nor may I forget to record the extraordinary liberality of a single congregation, the Church of St. Andrew, Philadelphia, by which a thousand dollars, annually, were contributed, for the space of three years, to the support of the Mission.

My work, with all its toil and suffering, and the deep interest which it has so long sustained in my breast, is now about to end. With these concluding words, my labours terminate. There have already grown out of it, two Missions, one at Constantinople, and another among the Jacobite Christians of Mesopotamia, both which, I humbly believe, will be productive of rich and glorious results, if faithfully prosecuted and sustained.' Other Missions may yet be established in the wide-spread field which I have been permitted to survey, and, perhaps, a new interest will be awakened in some hearts by the humble record which I now offer to the Church. I leave my work, therefore, with no other feelings than those of gratitude, joy and encouragement, and with these feelings, upon this the fourth anniversary of my embarkation from the city where I write, I turn to other labours in the same good cause.

H. S.

New-York, April 24, 1840.

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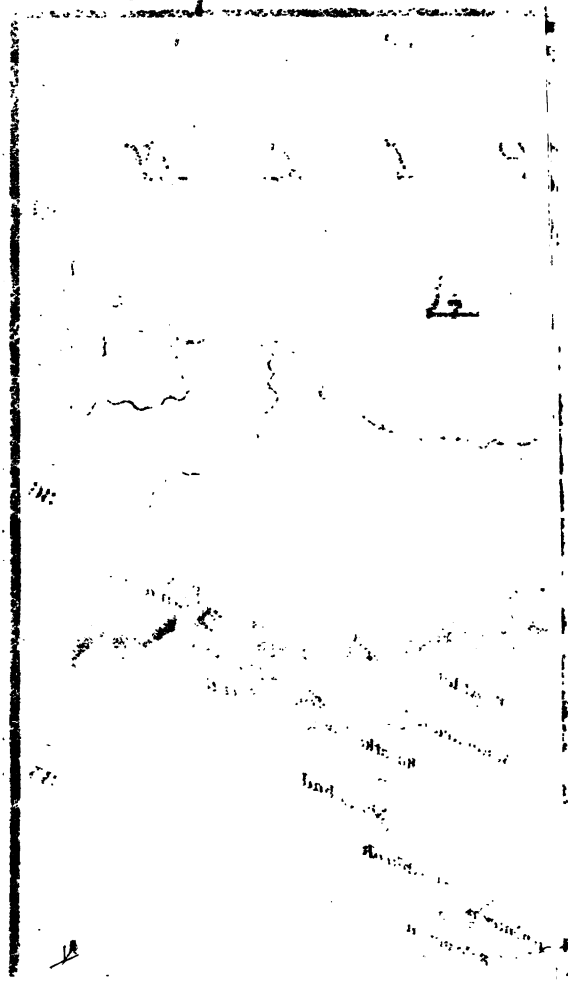


THE COMMAND.

GO YE INTO ALL THE WORLD, AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE.

Jesus Christ.

INTRODUCTION.

MOHAMMED—THE KORAN—THE SUNNEH, OR ORAL LAW—MOHAMMEDAN THEOLOGY—THE MUSSULMAN CATECHISM—THE MOHAMMEDAN SECTS, SUNNITES AND SHIAHS—HISTORY OF THEIR ORIGIN—DIFFERENCE IN THEIR CREEDS—DOCTRINES OF THE PERSIANS RESPECTING ALI, THE FOUNDER OF THEIR SECT—BELIEVERS IN HIS DIVINITY—MINOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SECTS—MUTUAL ENMITY—TURKS AND PERSIANS CONTRASTED—OTHER SCHISMS IN MOHAMMEDANISM—PRESENT STATE.

MOHAMMED,* the founder of the religion which it is in part the design of these pages to delineate, was born at Mecca, an ancient city of Arabia, about A.D. 571. He was of the tribe of Koreish, the noblest in Arabia, and, if credit may be given to Oriental writers, he was a lineal descendant of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. The Mohammedan historians record that mighty prodigies accompanied his birth. The sacred fire of the Magi went out, the river Tigris overflowed its banks, and the prophet himself appeared surrounded with a light which illumined the country round about. His first act on entering the world was to fall upon his knees, raise his hands and face towards heaven and repeat the Mussulman creed. The histories of his life abound in such legends as these.

* The orthography which I have adopted for the name of the false prophet is that which accords with the Eastern pronunciation and with the usage of European scholars.

His youthful years were spent in the humble occupation of a travelling merchant. At the age of 38, when his marriage with an opulent widow had raised him to an equality with the principal men of his city, he begun to affect solitude and spent much of his time in a retired cave. At the end of two years, according to the testimony of his biographers, the angel Gabriel appeared to him and invested him with the high commission of an 'Apostle of God to the black and the red,' or, in other words, to all mankind. After this followed frequent pretended revelations, which appeared as circumstances called for them, and were always of such a character as the emergency demanded. This often rendered those of a late date contradictory to those which had gone before. Thus, while the weakness of his party confined him to pacific measures, his pretended revelations breathed only the spirit of peace and good-will. But when his followers had become numerous and able to cope with his enemies, there immediately appeared a command to spread his religion by the sword.

There is good evidence, however, that his motives at the first were not altogether unworthy of a religious reformer. His original design, doubtless, was to destroy the idolatry of the Pagan Arabs, and to reduce the corrupted faith of the Judaists and Christians of Arabia to the worship of one only God. The unity of the Deity must therefore be regarded as the grand point of his religion, as it was also the prime article of his creed. With success his ambition increased while his motives degenerated, and the successive circumstances of his mission led him to add to his spurious revelations much which had never before entered his imagination.

As the design of these volumes embraces only the *present* state of Mohammedanism, we need not dwell

upon its early history, nor upon the endless questions to which it has given rise, but may pass at once to such a view of its doctrines and practices as will suffice to form a basis for our future observations.*

The revelations which Mohammed pretended to receive from heaven were at first communicated, as has been remarked, by parcels, as occasion served. These were committed to writing by amanuenses on scattered palm-leaves and skins, or were laid up in the memory of Mohammed's followers. Thus they remained at the time of his death. Abubekr, his successor, undertook to gather them together and to digest them into a single volume, which he committed to the custody of Hafsa, one of Mohammed's wives. The book was revised by Othman, the third Caliph, and the various copies reduced to one standard. It has since remained unchanged, and is generally known by the name which it bears on its own pages, *Al Koran*, or THE KORAN. The additions which have been made to it by Mussulman commentators and which are now incorporated in the religion itself, will presently come under notice. Before proceeding to these, however, the reader may be pleased to know something more particularly of the book itself.

The appellation, *Koran*, is derived from an Arabic verb signifying *to read*, and may itself be interpreted *the reading*, or that which should be read. The import is the same with that of the Greek *Biblia* and the He-

* The only biography of Mohammed which has appeared in this country is the excellent work of Prof. Bush, (*Harper's Family Library, No. X.*) Many have been published in Europe at different periods. The most authentic are those by Prideaux and Gagnier. Of the various histories of the Saracenic conquests, one of the most approved is *Ockley's History of the Saracens* published in England, A.D. 1708.

brew *Mikra*, from the first of which the general title of our Holy Scriptures is taken, while the second, derived from the same root with *Koran*, is the Jewish appellation of the Old Testament. The book is generally designated among the Mussulmans by some honourable title instead of its original name. Those most commonly in use are *Kelami Scherif*, Noble Discourse, and *Kitabi Aziz*, Holy Book. When its scattered parts were collected by Abubekr they were divided into chapters which, in some copies, now rarely to be found, were subdivided into verses after the manner of our own Scriptures. Another division sometimes seen in them, corresponds with that of the Psalms in the English and American Church Service, the whole being divided into thirty sections for the convenience of readers. Copies of this description are used in the imperial *turbehs*, or chapels of Constantinople, where the remains of the sultans are deposited. In some of these chapels a reader may be seen at any hour of the day, sitting upon the carpet with a large copy of the Koran before him, reading in the low, cantillating tone, and with the see-saw motion of the body always observed. In this way the Koran is read through daily by thirty readers, for the regular performance of which devotional and meritorious act the chapels are endowed.

The style of the Koran cannot be fairly judged by the insipid and incoherent form which it assumes even in the best translation. The purity, elegance and peculiar music of the original, at which Mohammed aimed with the skill of one who knew well how to make his revelations enter the ears for which they were intended, are all lost when clothed in a foreign dress. To the Arab, however, these factitious excellencies are its highest charm. He speaks of its divine language in enraptured terms,

and the melody of its rhythm is like an intoxicating draught to him. He appeals to it, after the example of its author, as the grand miracle of his religion, and like him declares it to be inimitable.* I was inclined to regard this admiration as, in part at least, the product of religious enthusiasm, until it was confirmed to me by more disinterested witnesses. I have heard Christians of Mesopotamia, with whom the Arabic is vernacular, speak as fervently in praise of the literary beauties of the Koran as a Mussulman could do. A Chaldean of Mossoul described the flow of its words as a perfect melody.†

The attractiveness of their holy book, in respect to its excellencies of style, is better appreciated by the Arabs than by the Turks or Persians, to the mass of whom its language is an unknown tongue. Yet the reverence with which it is regarded by the latter as a repository of divine oracles, is not diminished by their ignorance of its meaning. They hold it to be, according to its own declarations, "composed by God," "sent down from the Lord of all creatures," "a book of infinite value," "a revelation from a wise God." It is a copy from "the original, written in the preserved book," or the volume of divine decrees, kept in the seventh heaven.‡ The requisition of its author, "None shall touch it except those who are clean," is generally, but not universally, observed. In repeated instances, I have witnessed its

* Koran, Chap. XVI.

† This same individual had been a prisoner of one of the desert tribes, the Nasari, I believe. He informed me that their language was purely classical Arabic, of which the Koran is the standard. Their superiority in this respect was the theme of their constant boast, and they spoke with deep contempt of the barbarous jargon of the cities.

‡ Koran. Chaps. X. XLI.

violation. Nor is it true, as has often been affirmed, that it is never permitted to be touched by an unbeliever, since I have freely opened and examined numerous copies in mosques and *medressehs*, (colleges,) as well as others in the possession of private individuals. It is more difficult to procure one by purchase. In Constantinople this can hardly be accomplished, except by the aid of a Mussulman,* but in Persia, many were offered to me without disguise. Here, however, as in Turkey, the public knowledge of such a transaction might subject one to danger. The reason of this scruple I believe to be rather a fear, lest the book should be desecrated in the hands of an unbeliever, or sold for profit, like an article of merchandise, than, as might at first appear, the groundless jealousy of religious bigotry. The Turks, much more than the Persians, carry their regard for the Koran, to the verge of superstition. They use it for divination, by drawing a decision from the first passage or word to which they may open. They inscribe its sentences upon the inner walls of their mosques, sometimes upon the exterior of their houses, and the ceilings of their rooms, on fountains, vestments, swords, banners, seals, &c.

The copies of the Koran which I have seen, have been of various dimensions, from the size of the largest folio† to a volume two inches square. They are uniformly in manuscript, and the penmanship is often as regular and beautiful as the finest copper-plate engraving. Multitudes gain their livelihood by the labour of transcribing them. Some of the students in the medressehs

* The same is true, in general, of commentaries and other works on religion.

† See Appendix, I.

defray in this manner a considerable part of the expenses of their education. I knew an old man in Tebriz, celebrated for his chirographical skill, who wrote a single copy, annually, and maintained himself with the proceeds.

There exists, among the Turks, a strong scruple both against printing and translating the Koran. This feeling is still more rife among the Arabs, who look upon its very words with superstitious reverence. In Persia, however, I have seen copies of translations in the language of the country. But even here the original was retained, and the translation was interlineary. Nor have I ever read or heard of a Mussulman translation made in any other manner.*

The Koran is to the Mussulmans what the Bible is to the Christian—a rule of faith and practice. Terms equivalent to these are in use among them, to signify the two great complements of religion. *Iman* is *faith*, and *Din*, though in familiar conversation used as a generic term for religion, in its theological sense signifies that part of religion contra-distinguished from its theory, that is, its duties or *practice*. The proper and most commonly used term for the Mussulman religion is, *Al Islam*, or *Devotedness to God*.† Lest it should not occur to me to remark upon it hereafter, I will here say, that this comprehensive idea of religion seems to me to explain much, which, at first sight, surprised me in Mussulman character. I have often, for instance, been

* See Appendix, II.

† Prideaux translates it, *The Saving Religion;* Pocock, *Obedience to God;* and Sale, *Resigning, or devoting one's self entirely to God and his Service.* From the same root with this word are derived, the *Muslim* and *Musliman*, which Western usage has converted into *Moslem* and *Mussulman*.

struck with the peculiar reverence manifested by Mussulmans for the tombs and memories of devout men among the Christians. My surprise at this ceased when I became better acquainted with the genius of the religion, for, although it is essentially bigoted, a Mussulman's idea of it, as embodied in its name, leads him to venerate true devotion, wherever it exists.

It is well known that Islamism is now based upon many other authorities than the Koran. The latter is, as it has ever been, the only source of doctrine and religious observance; but the foundations which support the moral, civil, and political superstructure that has grown out of the religion, cover a far wider area. It is important at this point of our progress, to look to their origin.

The seemingly complicated frame-work of the Mohammedan system, when viewed as embracing civil and political, as well as religious and moral institutions, is, I believe, purely an accident. The original religion was most simple and easily understood. It is the same religion which now forms the faith and practice of the mass of uninstructed Mussulmans, and is that to which we shall have to look in estimating their present moral condition. Its elements, both of belief and precept, are extremely few and simple, and these it is which constitute the religion as it stands in the mind of a common Mussulman. It is by their fewness and simplicity, in co-operation with other causes, that they so easily retain their hold on the mind, and are so little exposed to corruption. The religion might never have presented any other aspect, even to a learned Mussulman, if its founder had not departed from the pacific mode of propagating it with which he commenced. The unsheathing of a carnal

weapon gave it at once a secular character. Those who were subjected to it by the sword became civil and political as well as religious subjects. When it begun to overthrow kingdoms by conquest, the necessity begun to be imposed upon it of erecting a polity of its own, otherwise it would have left the nations which it conquered without a civil government. Thus Mohammed became before his death a prince as well as a religious reformer, and the office went down to his successors invested with this double character.

The spiritual head became a ruler of nations. These two characters might have been easily maintained without the necessity of an extensive civil code while the religion was confined to the deserts of Arabia, where government existed for the most part in patriarchal simplicity. But when, under the first caliph, it went abroad and penetrated into foreign lands, bearing the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, an enlarged and complicated system became necessary. For this emergency the Koran had not provided; and herein is one remarkable evidence that Mohammed himself did not distinctly contemplate that wide extension of his religion to which it was destined. The caliphs first attempted to govern by the aid of the Koran alone, but this being insufficient, they extended the application of its precepts by glosses of their own, and to these added an entirely new set of laws, termed *Sunneh*, or Oral Law. These were distinguished from the Koranic code, (which is styled *Farz*, as being of divine origin and obligation,) in that they were oral and traditionary. They were, however, equally with the first, derived from the founder of the religion, being his unwritten sentiments uttered in ordinary conversation, his verbal decisions upon points proposed to him by his followers, in-

ferences from his acts, and even from his silence, which it seems was then interpreted, as in modern times, to denote assent. They were held in different estimation according to their authenticity. Those which were gathered from the wives of Mohammed, or from his personal attendants, friends and cotemporaries, were regarded as of nearly equal obligation with the precepts of the Koran. Those which were added at a subsequent period, or on doubtful authority, were less binding and received the distinct name of *Hadis*, a name which is also sometimes applied, in its literal sense of narration or *hearsay*, so as to cover the whole ground of traditionary law.

Before the traditions were collected into books, it was esteemed a highly meritorious act to commit them to memory or preserve them in writing. In this way, doubtless, many were kept and handed down for future use. The first individual who made an extensive collection of them was Zohari, who died at Damascus, A. H.* 124. This collection, a Mussulman writer affirms, comprised 600,000 traditions. Another, probably made with more discrimination, contained 5266. After these followed many others, of the authors of which D'Herbelot records twelve principal names. Many

* These letters will be understood as denoting the year of the Mussulman era, which begun with the *Flight*, (*Hijreh*, commonly written *Hejira*,) of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, which happened the 16th of July, A.D. 622. The years of this era are lunar, and, of course, eleven days shorter than the solar year. I remember once to have fallen into a discussion with a Turkish friend upon the age of the late sultan, Mahmoud II., he affirming that he was fifty-five, while I insisted that he was some two years younger. The question was at last settled, as many more weighty ones might be, by a definition of terms. My friend was calculating by the lunar year, while I was thinking only of the solar.

of these traditions, however, were so evidently drawn from the Talmud, with which the whole system remarkably corresponds, that it is believed they were palmed upon the Mohammedans by proselyted Jews. It may serve to show the minuteness with which Mussulman writers have treated of every thing appertaining to their religion, if I add, that at later periods several have written books for the purpose of discriminating between the true and false traditions, that the celebrated Noureddin, who flourished in the twelfth century as sultan of the Atabek dynasty of Syria, and whose name is mingled with the early history of the Crusades, erected a medresseh solely for instruction in these traditions, and that a great number, following that saying of Mohammed which promises a place among the first in paradise to him who shall teach forty traditions to the faithful, have sought this peculiar honour by writing books containing the requisite number, with extended commentaries upon them.

The Koran, therefore, with this body of traditions, to which time added vast accumulations, formed the basis of Mussulman legislation under the first caliphs. Their own decisions were added to the mass, forming a sort of common law. At the same time numerous schools were founded, in which the Koran was taught and explained by learned men. The first, however, who attempted to reduce these endless materials to system, and to comment upon them at large, was Abou Hanifeh, who was born at Koufah, A.H. 80, (A.D. 699,) and died at Bagdad, A.H. 150, (A.D. 767) He was followed by Malek, who was born at Medina about A.H. 95, and died there about A.H. 179. After him came Al Shafeï, born at Gaza, in Palestine, A.H. 150, and died in Egypt, A.H. 204, (A.D. 819.) Then followed an-

other, called Ebn Hanbal, born probably at Bagdad, A.H. 164, where he died, A.H. 241, (A.D. 855.) Among all the writers on the Koran and the traditions, these four were the most distinguished, both for the extent and completeness of their works, as well as their strict piety. On this account, and not by any means because they were the only authors of their kind, they came at length to be regarded as the standards of religion, though, in the instance of Abou Hanifeh, this honour was denied him until after his death.

Neither of these men formed a code of legislation, but Al Shafeï was wont to discourse upon jurisprudence, and wrote a book for the purpose of reducing the civil and canonical law to system. At the time of Abou Hanifeh the catalogue of traditions was not full, great accessions having been made to it at subsequent periods. His writings were, therefore, distinguished by his constant appeal to reason, in interpreting the Koran, and his disciples have thence been called *Rationalists*. The others, Al Shafeï in particular, relied more upon the simple word of what they considered to be revelation, and interpreted it more by tradition than by their own judgment. They were great friends of tradition, and, at their time, were the principal channels of its descent from one age to another. D'Herbelot supposes Al Shafeï to have attended upon the instruction of Malek in Egypt; but this is hardly possible, as Malek died, according to the latest calculation, A.H. 179, while Al Shafeï did not visit Egypt till A.H. 198. Doubtless, however, he received there the traditions of Malek, which he afterwards transferred to Hanbal, who in many things may be considered his disciple.

The labours of these four doctors are to be regarded as forming the basis of Mussulman legislation, and as

finally determining what had been left unrevealed by Mohammed, or indefinitely or contradictorily expressed, or unsettled from the want of interpretation. The number, however, of the same class of writers who appeared during the first centuries of the Mussulman era, was very large. Some of them attained nearly equal celebrity with those whom we have named, and the works of many of them are still studied by Mussulman scholars. They are sometimes divided into six classes, distinguished by the periods in which they wrote and the nature of their labours. The number of the chief commentators in all these classes is about thirty. The object of their writings, for the most part, was, to compose differences between the first four *Imams*,* to decide between them when their discrepancies could not be reconciled, to resolve questions which they had left untouched, to carry out their decisions to a more extended application, and to deduce inferences from them. Their works, which are very voluminous and minute, form, with other treatises on religion, the chief part of Mohammedan literature.

Distinct from these is another class who have confined themselves to the interpretation of the Koran. They are so numerous that the mere titles of their works would fill a large volume.† This class includes not only those who have explained the sense of the Koran, but all who have written on the various collateral topics relating to it. These of themselves form a large body. Some have treated on particular words in the Koran, and some on certain solitary letters which stand at the heads of several of the chapters, and to which a cabalistic sense

* See Appendix, III. † D'Herbelot.

is given. Others have treated on the different versions of the book which existed when it was revised by Othman; others on the mode of reading it, and the state of soul and body prerequisite to that exercise; others have expatiated upon its excellencies, and others still have paraphrased it. An entire book has been made of its names and titles. Indeed, the very number of its words have been counted and found to be 77,639, and even its letters have been enumerated, 323,015, as well as the number of times each letter is used.

Until after the capture of Constantinople, A.D. 1454, magistrates and doctors of the law were compelled to plunge into this fathomless abyss of learning in order to draw out the knowledge necessary for their several professions. In A.D. 1470, a celebrated scholar formed from these materials an extensive code, which was soon superseded by another from the pen of the celebrated Ibrahim al Halebi, a native, as his surname denotes, of Haleb, or Aleppo. He flourished during the latter part of the 15th and the commencement of the 16th century, holding several important offices in the mosque of Mohammed II. at Constantinople. His work, which, from the variety, extent and profundity of its learning, is entitled *Multeka*, or The Confluence of Seas, appeared during the reign of Suliman I. It is a compend of all that had been written by previous commentators, and forms a complete religious, civil, political, criminal and military code. Immediately on its publication it took the place which it still holds as the great text-book of Turkish jurisprudence. Later authors have done no more than to improve the arrangement of its parts, a matter to which Al Halebi, like most Oriental writers, paid little attention.

The reader may think that sufficient has been said

upon this part of my subject. My design, however, which has been not only to expose the basis of the Mohammedan religion, but to show with what minuteness its different parts have been explained, extended and glossed upon by Mussulmans themselves, will not be fully answered without adverting to another class of treatises of a less speculative and abstruse character. They hold the same place among the Mohammedans that works on practical religion hold among us, and, if I may judge from extracts which have at different times been read and explained to me by Mussulman friends, as well as from the translations of many of them in French and English, they are often worthy of the perusal of a Christian. The subjects of some of them are such as these: On moral duties—a very numerous and various class; On a religious life; On the graces of religion, such as Humility, Penitence, Self-Denial and Resignation; On spiritual or contemplative religion—presented in much the same manner with the old Christian writers on monastic life; Histories of the prophets, including, with others, some of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament; On the names of God and their signification; On the divine attributes; On the dignity and duties of an Imam—corresponding in some measure to our own treatises on the duties and responsibilities of the ministerial office. To these may be added, compilations and abridgements of celebrated works on religion; biographies of holy men; short sayings, proverbs and moral precepts—a mode of presenting thought most congenial to the Eastern mind; and, finally, religious manuals the doctrinal and preceptive parts of religion. These last correspond very nearly to our articles of faith, excepting that they are the productions of single individuals,

and have no binding authority aside from the truths which they inculcate.

Having glanced at the sources from which Islamism derives its support, we are now prepared to pass to a view of its doctrines and precepts as they are therein presented. For this purpose we cannot do better than offer, entire, one of those religious manuals in use among the Mussulmans. In this way the religion will be presented in the most succinct manner and without the danger of a partial or unjust judgment. Two of these compends lie before me while I write. The following is a translation of one of them.

THE MUSSULMAN CATECHISM.

I.

Of the General Principles of the Religion.

In the name of God most merciful!

Praised be God who has conducted us to the Faith, and has established it as the seal of our entrance into the celestial Paradise, and as the veil between us and an eternal abode in the fires of Hell.

May the peace and favour of God rest upon Mohammed the most excellent among men and the *Imam* who directs his own in the right way; and not only upon him, but also upon his family and his glorious companions. And may that peace be perpetual to all men and constantly increasing forever and ever.

Know then that Faith is the chief element of *Islam*,

as the Apostle Mohammed, (upon whom be peace!) has declared.

Now Religion rests upon these five foundations; The confession of the true God, which consists in believing and confessing that, THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD;* The prescribed observance of prayers;† The giving of alms; The fast of the month Ramazan; and, The pilgrimage to Mecca, which is required of every one who is in a state to undertake it.

To begin with the confession of the true God, (which is properly that which we call FAITH,) it is needful to know that what we exact of a man who has arrived at the age of knowledge and understanding, is to believe in *God*, in his *Angels*, in his *Apostles*, in his *revelations*, in the *last day*, and in his *Decree* touching good and evil.

Now FAITH does not consist merely in being internally persuaded of the truth respecting all these points, but it is moreover necessary that the confession of the tongue make that persuasion to appear without by external signs.‡

* See Appendix, IV.

† The observance of prayers includes the washings prerequisite to their right performance. Although, therefore, the duty of ablution has a distinct section devoted to it in the Catechism, it is not to be regarded as constituting a distinct article in the Symbol.

‡ Romans, x. 9, 10.

II.

Of Faith in God.

Faith in God consists in knowing truly with the heart and confessing openly with the mouth, that the Most High God exists; that He is True, Permanent, and very Essence; that He is Eternal in relation to the past, having never begun, and Eternal also in relation to the future, since He is without the necessity of an end; that there appertaineth to Him neither place, time, figure ,nor any outward form whatever—no motion, change, transposition, separation, division, fraction, or fatigue; that He is without equal and without parallel; that He is perfectly Pure, One, Everlasting, and Living; that He is Omniscient, Omnipotent, and Sovereign; that He hears, sees, speaks,* acts, creates, sustains; that He produces intelligently; that He causes to live and causes to die; that He gives beginning to all, and makes all to return to their original state, whenever He pleases; that He judges, decrees, directs, commands, prohibits; that He conducts into the right way, and leads into error; † and that to Him belong Retribution, Reward, Punishment, Favour, and Victory.

It is necessary farther to believe, that all these eternal attributes are embraced in His essential Being, and subsist in Him from everlasting to everlasting, without division or variation, yet so that it can neither be said that these attributes are Himself, nor that they are essentially

* This must be interpreted consistently with what precedes. The Doctrine of the incorporality of God is, next to that of His unity, the most prominent feature of Mohammedanism.

† See Section VII. of this Catechism.

different from Himself, since each of them is conjoined with another, as, for example, Life with Knowledge, and Knowledge with Power.

Now these attributes, such as we have described them in action, are, in the abstract, Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, Eternity, (both anterior and posterior,) Action, Creation, Sustentation, Intelligent Production, Impartation of Life, Causation of Death, the Formation and Restoration of Things, Wisdom, Decree, Direction to Good, Seduction to Evil, Retribution, Reward, Punishment, Favour, and Victory.

Such are the great and inestimable perfections of the Most High God, under which He is known and adored by the Faithful. Whoever dares to deny them, or to call them in question, whether in whole or in part, truly he is an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

III.

Of the Angels.

As for that which concerns the necessary belief respecting Angels, our Faith will be complete, if we believe with the heart and confess with the mouth, that the Most High God has servants or ministers,* to whom is given the name of Angels, who are perfectly free from all sin, who assist continually before God, who punctually execute His commands and never disobey Him.†

Respecting their nature we are required to believe that their bodies are subtile, pure, and formed of light; that

* Hebrews, I. 14. † Psalms, CIII. 20.

they neither eat, drink, nor sleep; that they have no sexual properties, nor carnal appetites, and are without father or mother.*

As they are endowed with different forms, so they have also distinct functions. Some stand erect, others maintain an inclined posture, others are seated, and, with the forehead bowed down, adore the Creator. Some chant His praise and sing hymns to His glory; others laud and magnify him after another manner;† and others still intercede with Him for the pardon of human sins. There are those among them who record our actions in their registers; there are others who protect us;‡ others surround, and others still bear the Throne of God; or they are employed in yet other duties, all alike agreeable to the Deity.

Now it is necessary to believe in these Angels, although we know neither their names nor their diverse kinds. As it is one of the absolute conditions of Faith to love them without exception, so is it Infidelity to hate them all or any one among them. If any one, moreover, dares to say, that though there are Angels, they are distinguished, like ourselves, by sexes, or, admitting that they are without such distinction, is not careful to believe in them and love them, let him be regarded as an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

* Matt. XXII. 30. † Ps. CIII. 20, 21. ‡ Ps. XXXIV. 7.

IV.

Of the Sacred Books.

Faith in the Sacred Books consists in being persuaded with the heart and confessing with the mouth, that there are illustrious books which God has sent from Heaven to his prophets, and that they are uncreated and eternal.

In these books are contained the commandments of God and His prohibitions, His statutes, His promises and His threatenings, the declaration of that which is permitted, and of that which is forbidden, of that which constitutes obedience, and of that which constitutes rebellion, and, finally, they exhibit the proofs of a retribution, both by reward and punishment.

All these books are the very Word of the Most High God, a Word which is read in the languages, written in the volumes, and kept in the hearts of men.

But this Word of God, since it exists in God himself, is quite distinct from the letters and words which represent it. Nevertheless these letters and these words are metaphorically called the *Word of God*, since they indicate the true Word; just as we are wont to call our Word that which truly indicates our internal thoughts, or, as one of our own poets has well expressed it,

> The inmost heart preserves the Word,
> While Language bears its voice abroad.

Yet it is only for man that language is necessary, for God knows well the heart, and all that is in it.

These Sacred Books are one hundred and four in

number. Of these, Almighty God sent ten to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idris, (Enoch,) ten to Abraham, one to Moses, viz. the Law, or that which we call the Pentateuch; one to Jesus, which is the Gospel;* one to David, which is the Book of Psalms; and one to Mohammed, which is the Koran.

Whoever disavows these books, or questions the divine character of all or any part thereof, though it be no more than a single chapter, or a single verse, or even a solitary word, surely such a one is an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

V.

Of the Apostles of God.

Faith, as it regards the Apostles of God, requires that we believe with the heart and confess with the tongue, that the Most High God has had Prophets, or extraordinary men, whom He has sent to other men. These Prophets are true in all which they declare unto us, and we must render them an entire belief, whether they ordain certain things, or prohibit them, or announce to us the orders of Heaven, or make the Celestial Constitutions and Canons, or reveal to us hidden things, such as the nature, attributes, and works of God, the impartation and restoration of life, the trial of the Sepulchre, the Balance, the Sharp Bridge, the Fountain,

* The Doctrine of the Koran is, that Jesus, being a prophet, received the Gospel in like manner as other prophets received the revelations made to them.

the Intercession, Paradise and its delights, and Hell with its torments.

It is needful, too, to know that these prophets are exempt from all error and grievous sins, and are all zealous for one and the same Religion, which is *Islam*, although differing among themselves so far as regards the mode of their institutions. They are the Elect from among all creatures, inasmuch as they have been honoured with interviews with God himself, and with the descent of Angels unto them, while their ministry has been authorized by manifest miracles, entirely above the regular order of nature. Some among them have raised the dead and have held conversation with beasts, trees, and other inanimate things, which, in turn, have paid them homage. These are prerogatives to which other men can never attain.

Furthermore, it should be known that God has established among them a certain subordination, by which one is exalted above another. Thus those among them who have exercised the office of Apostles, are superior to those who have not exercised it, while those who have introduced new dispensations are, in rank, above those to whom this privilege has not been accorded.

The first of these prophets was Adam, but the last and most excellent of all was Mohammed, to whom may God be favourable, and vouchsafe His blessing, as also to all those who preceded him.

Among the first disciples of the Prophet, the most excellent of all, and he who approaches most nearly to the rank of a prophet is Abubekr, after him Omar, next Othman, and lastly, Ali. After these four, in order of dignity, follow the six honourable companions of Mohammed—to wit, Telha, Alzabeir, Saad, Zaid, Abdur-

rahman, and Abou Obeida: next to them, the rest of his companions; and after these, the fortunate generation of men to whom Mohammed was sent. May God bless the Prophet, and divine favour rest on them all. Last of all come those who do good works, and whom we honour with the name of *Saints*.

The number of prophets, according to one tradition, is two hundred and eighty-four thousand, but according to another, only half as many. Among these, one hundred and thirteen have exercised the functions of Apostles, and six have brought to man new revelations; namely, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. May God be propitious to one and all, and crown them with His favour!

Faith does not absolutely require an exact knowledge of the number of these extraordinary men, but it is essential to salvation to love them. He who loves them not, or who hates any one of them, must be ranked with Infidels. In like manner, whoever denies or questions the truth of any one of them, or rejects even one of their declarations, is already an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

VI.

Of the Last Day.

Faith in the last day consists in believing with the heart and confessing with the mouth that there shall indeed be a last day, even that of the Resurrection, when Almighty God shall destroy and annihilate this world, and shall cause to perish all men and creatures which are found in it, excepting only certain things proper to

be preserved. Such are, for instance, the Throne of Glory and the Foundation on which it rests, and the ministering Spirit, and the Table of decrees and the pen with which they are written, and Paradise and Hell with all that they contain.

After this God shall restore all creatures which he had annihilated; he shall awaken them with the sound of the angelic trumpet; and having re-imparted to them vitality and intelligence, shall gather them into one place, where he shall examine them and demand an account of their past lives. To each one of them shall be given a book containing the record of his good or bad actions, according to his character. They who receive the first are the good, who will hold their books in the right hand; the others are the wicked, who will hold their books in their left hands and behind their backs. Thereupon the Most High God will judge them in righteousness and equity, weighing in the Balance all their works, both good and bad, and rendering to every soul according to what he has done, whether it be good or evil.

Through His goodness and mercy some shall enter paradise, whilst others shall descend into hell. But no one of the Faithful* shall abide eternally in the tormenting fires of hell. They shall all enter into paradise after having undergone punishments proportioned to their transgressions. The Faithful once introduced into heaven shall dwell there forever, while the Infidels, precipitated into hell, shall never go out therefrom.

In order that faith in the resurrection may be salutary and complete, it is absolutely necessary that it be

* The term in the original is exclusively applied to Mussulmans who alone are embraced in this saving clause.

contemplated with alarm. Let him, then, who shall look upon it with indifference or a feeling of security, him, too, who shall deny or doubt thereon, or who is impious enough to say, either with the mouth or in the heart, "I fear neither the resurrection nor hell, and I care not for paradise," let such a one be esteemed an Infidel.

O God, save us from Infidelity!

VII.

Of the Decrees of God.

Faith in the decrees of God requires us to believe with the heart and confess with the mouth, that he has decreed not only things themselves, but also the mode of their existence, so that there happens nothing in the world respecting either the situations or the operations of beings, nothing regarding good or evil, obedience or disobedience, faith or unbelief, sickness or health, poverty or riches, life or death, which is not embraced in the decree and ordinance of God, and does not emanate from his sovereign will and righteous judgment.

It is necessary, however, to remember that God has decreed obedience and faith in such manner that they are subjected not only to his ordinance, will and decree, but also to his salutary direction, his good pleasure and his command; while, on the contrary, he has decreed disobedience and unbelief, and ordains, wills and determines them, only in consistency with his disapprobation and prohibition of them, and this he does by abandoning men in his wrath, or by permitting them to be led away through temptation. In all this his salutary guidance, his good pleasure and his command do not concur.

Whoever, therefore, shall dare to say that God rejoices neither in the good deeds nor the faith of men, or that he has no aversion for evil and unbelief, or that good and evil proceed from him in such sort that he decrees and wills both with the same complacency, is surely an Infidel. The truth is, that God wills what is good, but in such a manner that the good always pleases him; while, though he also wills evil, it is in such a way that evil does not at all cease to be odious to him.

O gracious God, direct our steps in the right way!

VIII.

*Of Ablutions.**

Concerning the prescribed purifications it should be known that there are seven kinds of water proper for the purpose, viz: rain-water, sea-water, river-water, well-water, fountain-water, snow-water, and hail-water.

We acknowledge three principal ablutions or purifications; the first, which we call *Ghousl*, is a kind of Immersion; the second, called *Vodou*, is chiefly for the hands and feet; and the third is the *Ablution with sand*, since, in that ablution, sand or earth is used instead of water.

1. *Of the washing of the body, called Ghousl.* The principles or rules of this corporal immersion are three in number. First, there must be the intention to render one's self pleasing to God. Secondly, the body

* The preceding sections contain the articles of *belief;* this and the following sections those of *observance.* This distinction is generally observed by Mussulman writers.

must be cleansed from all its defilements, if such there be. Thirdly, the water must be made to pass over the hair and over all the external surface of the body.

Further, it must be remembered that our *Sunneh* requires of us these five acts in performing this ablution. First, that we repeat the accustomed formulary, *Bismillah*, &c., *In the name of God, Merciful and Gracious!* Secondly, that we wash the palms of the hands before the vessels are emptied. Thirdly, that the purification of the hands and feet be made before prayer and after the accustomed forms. Fourthly, that the skin be rubbed with the hand to cleanse it from all filth. Fifthly, that these acts be continued without interruption to the end.

The occasions on which this corporal purification becomes necessary are six in number. Of these, three are common to both sexes, and the others peculiar to one. [Most of the occasions mentioned in the original are of such a nature as renders them improper to be recorded. One of the first kind is *death*, (the law and custom of the Mussulmans being to wash the corpse before burial,) and one of the second is the same as was observed in like manner among the Jews.* The others will not bear to be repeated or even remotely alluded to.]

2. *Of the purification called Vodou, which is for the hands and feet.*† This kind of ablution has six principles or sacred institutions. First, it must be performed with the intention of pleasing God. Secondly, the whole face must be washed. Thirdly, the hands must be washed, and the arms as high as the elbows, including the latter. Fourthly, certain parts of the head

* Leviticus, Chap. xii.

† This is the common ablution before prayer.

must be rubbed. Fifthly, the feet, including the heels, must be washed. Sixthly, the order to be observed is that in which the requisitions are here recorded.

To these institutions are to be added those of the *Sunneh*, which are ten in number. First, the washing must be preceded by the customary formula, *Bismillah*, &c., *In the name of God, merciful and gracious.* Secondly, the palm of the hand must be washed before the vessels are emptied. Thirdly, the face must be washed. Fourthly, water must be drawn through the nostrils. Fifthly, the head and ears must be rubbed. Sixthly, the beard, when it is thick and long, must be separated. Seventhly, the toes must be washed in due succession. Eighthly, the right hand must be washed before the left, and the same order observed with the feet. Ninthly, these several acts must be performed thrice. Tenthly, they must be continued without intermission to the end.

There are five occasions when this kind of lustration is required. [The first, second, fourth and fifth cannot be mentioned. The third is when there has been a failure of memory or of reason, either through intoxication, insanity or sickness. The cause of requiring ablution in these cases is, that there may have been, in such states, uncleanness contracted of which the individual was not aware.

Next follows in the original a specification of certain cases in which ablution is not of a religious obligation, but in which it should be performed for the sake of cleanliness. They are not, however, suitable for repetition here.]

3. *Of the purification with sand.* Concerning this mode of purification, which receives its name from its being performed with earth or sand instead of water, it

is necessary to be informed that there are four prescriptions. First, it must be performed with the intention of pleasing God. Secondly, the face must be rubbed. Thirdly, the same must be done to the hands, and also to the arms as high as the elbow, including the latter. Fourthly, the order here prescribed must be exactly observed.

To these regulations are to be joined the requisitions of the *Sunneh*, which ordain that the ceremony commence with the formula, *Bismillah*, &c., that the right hand and the right foot have precedence of the left, and, lastly, that these acts be continued uninterrupted till the ceremony is completed.

IX.

Of Prayer.

The sacred institutions regarding prayer and its accompanying rites are thirteen in number. 1. The intention which precedes all. 2. The extolling of the name of God. 3. The formulary appointed for this purpose. [*God is great, God is great. There is no God but God. God is great, God is great. Praises are for him.*] 4. The upright posture, or the most erect carriage of the body. 5. The recitation of the first chapter of the Koran. 6. The inclination of the body towards the earth. 7. The return to the upright posture. 8. The adoration, or prostration of the face to the earth. 9. The posture of sitting. 10. The repetition of the sitting posture. 11. The final confession respecting Mohammed, the first (see above) having regard only to God. 12. The recitation of the formulary of that con-

fession. 13. The observance of the order here set down.

The traditional (*Sunneh*) institution requires, in addition, these four things. 1. The announcement, or the invitation of the people to prayer. 2. The second announcement, differing in form from the first. 3. The first confession, regarding God. 4. The form of prayer which constitutes that first confession.

The conditions required of him who prepares himself to perform his devotions are five in number. 1. That the members of his body be free from all manner of impurity. 2. That he be clad in a clean garment. 3. That he be in a clean place, where there is no possibility of contracting any species of defilement. 4. That he know the exact times appointed for prayer, and observe them punctually. 5. That in the act of prayer he turn his face towards the *Keblah*.*

The prayers to be offered each day are of five kinds. 1. The prayer of noon, which requires four inclinations of the body. 2. The afternoon prayer, which also requires four inclinations. 3. The vesper prayer, to be offered on the approach of evening. This requires three inclinations. 4. The night prayer, which requires four inclinations. 5. The morning prayer, which requires only two inclinations. In all, seventeen inclinations are required daily.

X.

Of Alms.

Alms must be given out of five kinds of property; from our cattle; from our money; from our grain; from our fruits; and from our merchandise.

* See Appendix, V.

There are three kinds of cattle from which alms should be given, viz: camels, oxen and sheep; and in order that this form of charity be executed in a lawful manner, six things are requisite. The giver must be a Mussulman; a free man; and the lawful owner of that which he bestows. His property in cattle must also have increased to a certain amount; he must have been its owner for the space of one year; and the cattle which he gives in charity must not be of those which labour for the tillage of his lands and which are needful to him, but of those which feed idly in his pastures.

[In bestowing *money*, the conditions required are the same in substance with those just recited.]

The conditions for the bestowal of charity in *grain*, are these; first, the grain must have grown upon land sown by man and not in a wild state; second, it must have been gathered into the granary; third, the bestower must be possessed of a certain quantity in order to be under obligation of charity.

The required alms in *fruit* consists of these two kinds, dates and grapes. [In order that they be lawfully made, the first four of the conditions of alms in *cattle* are required here.]

[Alms in *merchandise* are subjected to the same conditions with the first-mentioned.]

But it should be remembered, both with regard to all these kinds of charity now alluded to, as well as with regard to another kind, which is a sort of impost of charity, or capitation tax, imposed at the termination of the great fast of Ramazan, one of the fundamental principles is the *intention*, or the inward resolution to bestow such and such alms, as entirely due from us.

XI.

Of the Fast.

Three things are requisite to render the fast lawful and pleasing to God. The person fasting must be a Mussulman; he must have arrived at the age of puberty; and must be in his right mind.

The fast itself is based on five divine institutions. 1. The intention of the heart. 2. Abstinence from food during the day. 3. Abstinence from drink. 4. Abstinence from every kind of lightness of conduct and impurity, such as a kiss, an embrace, &c. &c. 5. Abstinence from all intention to vomit.

Ten things there are which may render the fast null. First, when the individual intentionally causes any thing to enter the head by either of the organs of sense, such, for instance, as water or an exquisite odour, or subtile essences of any kind, or when any substance whatsoever is made to descend into the stomach. [The second and third have reference to certain internal applications of medicine.] Fourth, the fast is broken when any thing is intentionally ejected by the mouth. [The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth cannot be repeated in decorous terms.] Ninth, when the individual is insane. Tenth, when he has fallen into apostasy.

XII.

Of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

The divine institutes concerning the rites of this act of devotion, are five in number. First of all, there is

required the *intention*, by which the devotee has inwardly resolved and religiously vowed to God to perform this pilgrimage. Secondly, in the course of the pilgrimage, he must tarry one day on the mountain of *Arafat*. Thirdly, he must shave or shear the hair of the head in the valley of *Mina*. Fourthly, he must make the circuit of the *Kaabah* seven times. Fifthly, he must run seven times from *Safa to Merva*.

The reader should here be apprized that the symbols of faith presented in the Catechism, are those of the Sunneh Mussulmans, and that they do not fully represent the creed of the other great division of Mohammedanism. The principal point of difference, however, is that which relates to the rightful succession of the Apostolic office. In order, therefore, to complete our view of the articles of the Moslem faith, it is only necessary to draw from a catechism of the Shiah sect, so much as is necessary to show the peculiarities of their belief respecting this single point. For this purpose, I shall avail myself of a volume in my possession, entitled *Jumah Abasi*, or THE SUMMARY OF ABBAS. This volume, which I purchased during my residence in Tebriz, contains a compend of the moral theology of the Persians, who are the chief representatives of the Shiah sect. It receives its name from having been compiled by order of Abbas, the Great. The author was one of the most distinguished theologians of Persia, and the writer of several celebrated works on the Mohammedan religion. He was a Mollah, or Doctor of the Law, and bore the magnificent title of *Sheikh Bahadin Mohammed, Jebel Ameli;* Sheikh Mohammed, the Honour of the Law, the Accumulator of Mountains. The book contains, in seventeen chapters, the canonical and ceremonial laws of the Shiah Mussul-

mans. It is the same work which furnished Chardin with the principal materials for his sketch of the religion of the Persians.*

In order, however, fully to understand the present differences of the two great sects of Mohammedans, it will be necessary to trace them to their origin. For reasons which cannot now be ascertained, Mohammed, in his last sickness, gave no instructions respecting his successor; for little credit is to be vouchsafed to the Persian legends on the subject. Ali himself acknowledged, just before his death, that the prophet did not appoint a successor.† Some of the Sunneh writers have testified that he requested his father-in-law, Abubekr, to conduct the public prayers in his stead, during his illness, but the circumstances which followed, would seem to show that little more credit is to be attached to their testimony than to that of the Shiahs. On the very day of his death a violent contention arose respecting the succession, which could hardly have taken place if Mohammed had, by word or act, signified his own wishes concerning it. The contest at length became so violent as to threaten a fatal rupture in the ranks of the Moslems. It was finally appeased by the prudence and moderation of Omar, himself one of the most prominent candidates. While the strife was still warm, he advanced to Abubekr, took his hand and declared his allegiance to him as the Caliph, or successor, of Mohammed. This pacificatory act was followed by the others who were present; and Abubekr was chosen to the office by the unanimous voice of the company. I cannot learn that Ali was supported as

* Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, Vol. IV, Amsterdam edition, 1735.

† Ockley, II. 75.

a candidate at this meeting. At least he was not present on the occasion. But when the result was announced to him, he did not attempt to conceal his dissatisfaction at his own claims having been overlooked. These claims consisted in his being, by birth, a cousin of Mohammed, and his son-in-law by the marriage of his only surviving daughter, Fatima. He was also the first, out of Mohammed's own family, who embraced his religion. A considerable party adhered to the cause of Ali, and even at this early period the principles which have ever been the essential grounds of difference between the Sunnites and the Shiahs, were distinctly marked. The party of Ali contended that the Apostolic office was hereditary, and that their chief was entitled to it in right of his two-fold affinity to the prophet. Their opponents, who constituted the great majority of the Mussulmans, held, on the contrary, the opinion, that the succession must be determined by the voices of the whole company of the Faithful. It may have been the same conviction, which seems indeed most consonant with the equalizing principles of his religion, that induced Mohammed to remain silent respecting his successor.

Some months after the occurrences just narrated, Ali formally professed allegiance to Abubekr, but neither he nor his party were believed to be sincere in their attachment. The Caliph, when about to die, nominated Omar his successor, and the choice was confirmed without opposition. Omar, after a reign of about ten years, fell by the hand of an assassin, but refused in his last moments to nominate any one to take his place. To Ali he objected, that he was not of a sufficiently serious character to undertake so weighty a charge, and to his own son, that the responsibility of the office was too great to be borne by more than one member of the same family.

He could be persuaded, therefore, to do no more than appoint a committee of six of the chief men among the Saracens, to whom the question should be referred after his decease. Ali was one of these, and did not hesitate to press his own claims. Nor would the others have been indisposed to elect him, if he had been willing to accede to the conditions proposed, which were, that he should govern in acccordance with "the Book of God, the tradition of the prophet and the determination of [the] two seniors."* To the first two he assented, to the last he demurred; and Othman, another of the company, was chosen in his stead.

On the assassination of Othman, after a reign of nearly twelve years, a violent dispute arose about the succession. The party of Ali had gradually increased during the first three caliphates, and at this moment the Arabians generally were in his favour. One of his most powerful enemies was Ayesha, the youngest wife of Mohammed and the daughter of Abubekr. She had from the first opposed the claim of Ali with extreme virulence, either from a natural desire to see the office conferred upon her father, or from her jealousy of Ali's wife, Fatima, who was a daughter of Mohammed by his first and most beloved spouse, Kadijah. Her hostility continued to the end of her life; and, although it did not prevent Ali from reaching the caliphate

* *Ockley*, I. 323.—Gibbon suggests that the *two Seniors* may have been Abubekr and Omar, the predecessors in the Caliphate. This is altogether probable, for as they had been the authors of numerous interpretations of the Koran and decisions upon it, the other electors could hardly fail to feel the importance of securing from Ali a formal recognition of their authority. In refusing to acknowledge it, he laid the foundation for the principal heresy which the Sunnites charge upon the Shiahs.

after the death of Othman, it occasioned him much trouble in his possession of it. Well would it have been for the valiant and generous, though unfortunate, Ali, if he could have avoided those dangerous honours which, now that they were pressed upon him, he would fain have declined. But those who feared that a wide and incurable rupture would ensue from these frequent dissensions, thrust the office upon him by entreaties and even threats. The course of his reign was as stormy as its commencement, until, at length, like his two immediate predecessors, he fell by a blow from an assassin, while engaged in his devotions at the mosque. Mussulman writers of both sects agree in the praise of Ali. He was distinguished for his bravery, and the appellation of the *Lion of God*, which is still often heard from the lips of the Persians, was conferred upon him before he attained the caliphate. He was noble and elevated in his views, and, if he was not qualified to gain or secure favour, the deficiency arose chiefly from his superiority to the base intrigues by which power is often won and sustained. He was a poet, and the most eloquent man of his time. Some of his writings are still extant, among which his *Moral Sentences* are the most distinguished. I will not detail the troubles of his reign, which was incessantly disturbed by the rebellious movements of his domestic foes. His principal enemy was Moawiyah, of the family of Ommia, of the tribe of the Koreish, who had held Syria under Othman, as his lieutenant, and who retained the rule after Ali's accession and in spite of his power. Ali had fixed his seat of government at Koufah, on the Euphrates, which consequently became the great centre of those who were true to his interests. Hence it arose that while the western

provinces fell off from him, those of the east remained faithful.

Ali was succeeded by his eldest son Hassan, a man of too quiet and retiring a spirit for those boisterous times. He held the reins of government only six months, and then resigned them to Moawiyah, who by that act became caliph and founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades. This happened A.H. 41, or on the 6th of May, A.D. 661. From that time, for a considerable period, the names of Ali and his descendants were publicly execrated by the Ommian caliphs, as afterwards by some of those of the dynasty of the Abassides. The remembrance of hostilities was kept alive by the continuance of the party which favoured the house of Ali. Their right to the supreme power was insisted upon, and for two hundred years after the abdication of Hassan, there remained a representative of that house to claim it. In the year 255 of the Hijreh was born the last descendant of Ali in the line which pretended to the caliphate. At the age of about nine years he suddenly disappeared in a manner which has never been satisfactorily accounted for. The party, however, survived, and the rights of the family of Ali were as warmly disputed during the next four centuries as they had been before it became extinct. Even Bagdad, the seat of the Abassian caliphs, was distracted by the dissensions of the two parties. The vezir of Mostazem, the last of that house, was himself a Shiah; and it was in revenge of some indignity offered to the Shiahs by one of the royal family, that he invited Hologou, the Mogul Emperor, to Bagdad, and betrayed the city into his hands. The death of Mostazem, by the order of Hologou, put an end to the dynasty of the Abassides, A.D. 1258.

Such is the origin of the two great sects of *Islam*. That

of the Shiahs has always been inferior in number to the other. It was first established in Persia as the national faith, A.D. 1500, by Shah Ismael, himself a real or pretended descendant of Ali. It has ever since maintained its predominance there. At the present moment it embraces the Persians, some of the Uzbek tribes of Tartary, and the Mussulmans of India, while the Sunneh sect comprises the Turkish tribes of the regions east of the Caspian, the Afghans, the Osmanlees, and the Arabs of Arabia, Syria, Egypt and the northern coast of Africa. The Sunnites use the common prerogative of the majority, and style themselves *Orthodox*, while they confer upon the others the odious name of *Schismatics*. The word *Shiah* itself is an appellation bestowed by the Sunnites and signifies not only a sectary, but one of an opprobrious character. It is never heard in Persia, for the Persians award to themselves the more honourable titles of *Friends of Ali*, *The Company of the Just*, &c.

It will now be perceived that the original and fundamental difference between the Sunnites and the Shiahs relates to the rights of the caliphate. The former hold it to be elective, the latter hereditary. The former admit the three caliphs who preceded Ali as lawful successors of their prophet; the latter reject them as usurpers, and execrate their memory. Both, however, start from the same fundamental principle, which is, that there must always be on earth a prophet of the true religion, or a deputy of a prophet, a vicar of God, the Imam of the Mussulmans, to exercise a jurisdiction both temporal and spiritual. According to the Sunnites, this office is now vested in the Sultan of Turkey, who derives his right from Motavakkel Billah II., the last of those descendants of the Abbasides who retained in Egypt the title of Caliph, with little more than the shadow of autho-

rity, and who was himself carried away prisoner by Selim I., Sultan of Turkey, on his return from the conquest of Egypt, in or about 1516. The Persians, on the contrary, declare Ali and his descendants, to the eleventh generation, to be the only rightful successors of Mohammed. These twelve they distinguish by the title of the *Twelve Imams*. The last, whose mysterious disappearance has been noticed, was, they say, removed by God on account of the wickedness of men, but will again appear in the last days, to restore the true religion and rule as supreme head over the Mussulmans. In the meanwhile, there is on earth no visible Imam. The kings of Persia rule only as his temporary substitutes, and have borne, if they do not now bear, the title of *Lieutenants of the King of Persia*. At the time of my arrival in that country, in 1837, a report was in circulation, that the twelfth Imam had re-appeared. A pretended reformer did indeed arise, boasting himself to be somebody, but the issue of his mission was not such as to revive the long deferred hope of the Persians.

There are some among the Shiahs who affirm that there must always be a *visible* Imam, and that he is to be found, as long as the true Imam is absent, among the most learned and holy of the Doctors of the Law. Though this opinion is not, I believe, extensively held in Persia, the want of a religious chief is one cause of the peculiar deference which is paid to men of high repute for learning and sanctity. This feeling is carried farther in Persia than in Turkey, although it is one of the most prominent features of Mohammedanism in both countries. But in Persia, more particularly, the influence which the religious orders exert upon the minds of the mass is truly remarkable, and forms one of the most important elements in a right judgment upon the prac-

ticability of introducing Christianity into the country. In this view I shall have occasion to recur to it again. I allude to it at present for the sake of remarking that this doctrine of a perpetually visible Imam, although theoretically embraced by few in Persia, seems to be generally adopted in practice. There is always one, or more, who claims to be the Head of the Mussulmans in the country. There is now an aged doctor in Shiraz, who is universally acknowledged to be the chief of the Sooffees, while the supreme direction of the conservative Shiahs, (if so I may be permitted to distinguish those who are not avowedly infected by the lax tenets of Sooffeeism,) is claimed by several among the learned devotees. The most distinguished is one Seid Mohammed Bakir, of Isfahan, whose influence is reputed superior to the authority of the Shah. The latter courts the good-will of the man who could, by a word, shake his throne to its foundation. The present Shah, however, is not the first who has condescended to seek the favour of these spiritual rulers of the people. His predecessor, Feth Ali Shah, was wont to receive them with distinguished honour, and to demean himself before them in the manner of an inferior. The leaders of the conservative and Sooffee parties maintain no friendly relations with each other. On one occasion the latter visited Tehran, the seat of the Shah, for the purpose of intriguing against the other. The Shah did not venture to listen to his suggestions, but as a token of regard for the Imam, or, perhaps, to rid himself in the easiest manner of his importunity, dismissed him with a munificent present. The authority which these men, and many others of a lower grade, exert in Persia, depends upon no official rank, but upon the weight of their personal character; and it is one of those indications which exist

in every religion, to show that, where men are not guided in their spiritual concerns by regularly constituted overseers, the wants of their moral nature lead them to seek for guides who rule their followers with the same authority, though without the safeguard of official responsibility.

But to return. The sketch which I have given of the original differences between the Sunnites and Shiahs leads at once to the difference in their respective creeds. To the first two articles of the Sunneh faith respecting a belief in God and Mohammed, the Persians add their own dogma concerning Ali. Their whole creed runs thus: THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD; ALI IS THE VICAR OF GOD. The third article in the catechism thus reads: "It is necessary to confess, in the third place, the excellence of the companions of Mohammed according to their rank and order, acknowledging the most excellent of men, after Mohammed, to be Ali, then Hassan, then Hossein, &c. It is needful to have a right faith concerning all the Imams, and to esteem and honour them, even as God has done." I have given the creed both as I find it in the catechism, and as I used to hear it in the *Ezan*, or Call to prayer, from the mosque. This mingling of the name of Ali with those of God and Mohammed, to the exclusion of the first three caliphs, was peculiarly offensive to some Sunnites from Turkey, with whom I happened to lodge for a few days in one of the cities of Persia. Even my Christian interpreter, a native of Constantinople, was highly incensed at such a departure from what he had been accustomed to regard as true Islamism. "Do you hear the dogs?" he said one day, as the voice of the Muezzin broke forth immediately

over the place where we sat, "they are calling Ali the lieutenant of God."

It is the natural effect of controversy to drive men farther from the golden mean of truth, and to give a monstrous proportion to some single member of its system. Thus the Persians, by incessant contention for the rights of Ali, have practically made their faith in him the grand centre of their religion, and have contracted views hardly less gross than those of idolatrous pagans. By a very natural process of thought, they have passed from a simple defence of his political rights to panegyrics of a most hyperbolical character. They ascribe to him the highest virtues; a perfect sanctity and supernatural endowments, both of body and mind. Their books, too, are full of the most extravagant legends concerning his excellencies and his acts, which enthusiasm could create, or superstition believe. Some have carried these extravagances beyond the bounds of religion, as well as of reason, and, not content with ascribing to him the highest of human endowments, believe him to be possessed of those which are divine. These last form a distinct party in Persia, and bear a name implying their belief in the divinity of Ali. There is a village of them near the city of Kazvin, and others in the Western provinces. At Kermanshah and among the Kurdish tribes in that vicinity, they are numerous, and their numbers are constantly increasing. They have no distinct organization as a sect, but are known by this peculiarity in their belief. Their grand doctrine is, that Ali is an incarnation of the Deity. They give him divine titles, and, I was credibly informed, worship him as God.

The common belief of the Persians falls hardly below the same level. In the vagueness of religious en-

thusiasm, they constantly use modes of expression, which are inapplicable to any being subjected to the frailties and infirmities of man. The very formula by which they seek to avoid the imputation of calling Ali divine, savours of the impiety which they would avoid.

I do not believe that Ali is God,
Nor do I believe he is far from God.

These are, in literal translation, the words of the formula, and expressions tantamount to this, are often on their lips. The name of Ali is more frequently heard than the name of Mohammed, and it is invoked in circumstances where a Sunnite would use that of the Deity. The Persian cries, *Ya Ali!* O Ali! when a Turk would exclaim, *Ya Allah!* O God! The same is true, with little qualification, of the regard which they bear for the other eleven Imams, and the manner in which they speak of them.

It is evident, from what has been said, that the original difference between the Sunnites and Shiahs, was political rather than religious, relating simply to the right of succession. But a division on this point has entailed consequences more immediately affecting religious practice. The Shiahs, in refusing to acknowledge the first three Caliphs, reject the traditions of which they were the authors, their interpretations of the Koran, and also the precedents established by their judicial decisions. It is, on the contrary, from their attachment to these authorities, that the other sect have appropriated to themselves the title of *Sunnehi*, or Followers of Tradition, a title which, of right, belongs no more exclusively to them than to the others.

The Persians acknowledge the authority of tradition, rejecting only so much as they believe to come from corrupt sources. Their religious usages and their juris-

prudence have, with this exception, the same basis as those of the Turks, although they do not possess so extensive and thoroughly digested a code. The exception, however, is the cause of certain discrepancies in the ritual and worship of the two sects. These relate to such matters as the mode of ablution before prayers, and the different postures of the body during devotion; matters, it would seem, of too trivial concern, to give occasion for discord, did we not consider, that the very essence of superstition is, to magnify, unduly, things of little moment, and that no religion is more rigid in its forms than Mohammedanism. How these differences are in truth regarded, a single incident will serve to show.

I engaged, in Tebriz, a Persian servant, who was anxious to accompany me into Turkey. My interpreter, wishing to amuse himself, told him, that if he visited Turkey, he must wear Turkish clothing, sit cross-legged, and eat Turkish food, after the Turkish manner. "That," he said, "I will do." "You must also," added the interpreter, "perform your devotions like a Turk, washing your arms from the elbow, downward, instead of the reverse, and folding your hands in prayer instead of lifting them outspread." "That," he promptly replied, "I will not do!" and he was never afterwards solicitous to go with me into Turkey.

Such, in fine, are the differences which distinguish the two great sects of Mohammedans, and thence arises the implacable hostility with which they regard each other. With this hatred the Turks are more deeply imbued than the Persians, not altogether because they are more bigoted, but because also they are more sincere in their attachment to their religion. The animosity, on both sides, is chiefly sustained by the religious orders, who anathematize

each other with all the bitterness of fanatical zeal; nor are the Mollahs of Persia, in this respect, one whit behind those of Turkey. The greater prejudice of the Turk arises, not so much from regarding the Persians as a hostile sect as from a knowledge of their practical neglect of the duties enjoined by their common religion. Whenever a Turk is heard to pour out his indignation against the *Barbarians*,* it is oftener for their neglect of prayers, their addictedness to wine and their want of truth, than for their sectarian views respecting the Caliphate or their difference in certain articles of ceremonial usage. They charge them not so much with heresy in rejecting the first three successors of Mohammed, as of idolatry, in raising the fourth to a superhuman elevation.

But, aside from religious animosities, the natural differences of character between the two people are sufficient, at least, to prevent any close advances towards a friendly intercourse. In almost every respect they may be described as opposites. The Turk is sedate and grave; the Persian animated and volatile. The Turk is remarkable for sobriety of judgment; the Persian, for the extravagance of his imagination. The Turk, (out of Constantinople,) is perhaps the most honest man in the world; the Persian is, everywhere, the most deceptive. The

* The word *Ajem* signifies, in general, the same with Βάρβαρος, and is used in precisely the same sense, as a distinctive appellation for all foreigners. But the Turks, like the Suanites generally, apply it particularly to the Persians. They speak of them, indeed, under no other title, and obviously use it in the contemptuous sense which it conveys. Persians, in company with Turks, sometimes condescend to speak of themselves under the same invidious appellation; but their common national name is *Irani*, or People of Iran.

Turk speaks the truth, even to his own damage; the Persian utters falsehood, without any apparent profit or motive. The Turk comes slowly to a conclusion; the Persian reaches it without premises. The Turk is full of a quick, moral sense; the Persian seems often utterly destitute of a conscience. The Turk acts from principle; the Persian from impulse. The Turk is satisfied with his condition; the Persian never. The Turk has more feeling than sentiment: the Persian more sentiment than feeling. The Turk is kind to brutes; the Persian mercilessly cruel. The Turk loves the approbation of himself; the Persian covets the praise of others. The Turk, unless corrupted by power, is unskilled in intrigue; the meanest Persian is an adept in it. Even those things in which they appear alike arise from differences. Both, for instance, are fatalists; but the fatalism of the Turk is resignation; that of the Persian is recklessness. Both are dreadful in their revenge; but with the Turk it arises from the depth of his feelings, which impart strength to his animosities; with the Persian it springs from a destitution of feeling which renders his revenge thoughtless and unrelenting.

These contrarieties of character give new strength to religious hate, especially with the Turk, who regards with strong aversion, temperaments and habits differing from his own. The more supple and affable Persian conceals dislike, if he has it, and, even in his own country, treats the Sunnite with more of outward respect and consideration than a Christian. He acknowledges him, at least in his presence, as a true Mussulman, and in this character gives him a cordial welcome. He admits him to the public baths, where a Christian seeks admittance in vain. He is even received to the house

of the Persian, and partakes of his private hospitality. During my residence in Tebriz, my interpreter was accustomed to go abroad in a European dress, and was consequently taken for what he was—a Christian. But one day the thought struck him that he would try the effect of a change. Putting on, therefore, the Turkish garb, which he had worn before entering Persia, he went into the bazars among his old acquaintances. They rose as he saluted them, and hailed him with a cordiality they had never before shown. They invited him to sit upon their carpets, offered him a kalioun, and said, "You are a Mussulman, then, *Al hamd-u-lillah!* God be praised!" When, as sometimes happened on my journeys, we fell in company with Turks, who, however, are seldom seen in Persia, it was amusing to observe their inflexible calmness and reserve, in contrast with the profuse politeness of the Persians. The latter are more frequently met with in Turkey, especially in Constantinople, Erzroum, and other commercial towns near their own borders, and on the route of the great pilgrimage; but excepting in the capital and at Bagdad, they reside there with less of a feeling of security than a Turk preserves in Persia. In the bigoted city of Erzroum, shortly before my arrival in the summer of 1837, an excitement was raised against the Persian residents, which had nearly terminated in the destruction of them all. I was informed, by an English gentleman, who witnessed the commotion, that some were actually murdered, and their corpses left in the streets!

Persians, generally, regard a journey in Turkey with dread, nor have I ever met with a Turk in Persia who did not feel himself a stranger in the land. It is enough, indeed, to affect his humour, that, for the most part, he does not find there his favourite *tchibouk* and coffee.

A sketch of the differences between the two sects that I have described, embraces all that is essential to a view of the divisions now existing in the bosom of Islamism. In former ages that bosom has, indeed, been riven with numerous feuds and schisms, some of which have arisen from religious controversy and others from political ambition. During the first centuries of its existence, and while Mussulman learning flourished under the patronage of the Caliphs, religious questions were discussed by the learned with all the proverbial virulence of theological hatred. The chief of these questions respected the origin of the Koran, the nature of God, predestination and free-will, and the grounds of human salvation. The question, whether the Koran was created or eternal, rent, for a time, the whole body of Islamism into twain, and gave rise to the most violent persecutions. It was finally settled by Motavakkel, the tenth Caliph of the Abassides, who granted a freedom of belief concerning it. Besides these religious contentions which divided the Mussulmans into parties but seldom gave birth to sects, there have sprung up, at different periods, avowed heresies, which flourished for a time and, for the most part, died with their authors. Others, stimulated by ambition only, have reared the standard of revolt, and under cover of some new religious dogma, propounded only to shield a selfish design, have sought to raise themselves to power. Most of these, whether theological disputes, heresies, or civil rebellions cloaked under the name of religion, arose previous to the 16th century. They were, while they lasted, signs of remaining vitality and energy in the religion itself; and if they have now ceased, it is only because vitality and energy have departed. Quiet may be harmony, or it may be death. It is the latter, I believe, which now pervades the mass of Islam-

ism. I have never been struck with a more violent contrast than, when visiting the Mussulman schools in the East, has presented itself in the comparison between the intellectual activity which they once exhibited and their present apathy and dullness. Those who have studied the present condition of Mohammedanism only at Constantinople, may demur to the truth of this remark. But no one will be hardy enough to affirm that the interest in Mussulman studies which exists even in the colleges of the Imperial City, is equal to such vigorous movements as characterized the earlier ages of Mohammedanism. There is, in these seminaries, a difference of views on some of the great points which have been noticed, but their influence is confined to the walls within which they are promulgated. Each teacher gives to his instructions the shade of his own peculiar opinions, but the interest in these differences does not, as formerly, go out from the schools to agitate the minds of the multitude.

In conversations of the learned, dogmatical and practical points are sometimes started, but I have more frequently heard of idle speculations upon some trivial point of ceremonial usage, and, in every case, such discussions seem to be undertaken rather to consume time or display learning, than from personal interest in the subjects of them

It is unnecessary, therefore, to attempt to trace the remnants of old divisions in the present lethargic state of Islamism. But there is still perceptible, in one of the two great parties that I have described, certain differences which deserve, at least, a cursory notice. The four great doctors of the Sunneh sect are regarded by the Sunnites as equally orthodox, since they agree in every thing essential to the religion. On other points, how-

ever, they differ; in matters, for instance, relating to moral practices, to rites and worship and to civil and political administration. These differences are retained among the Sunnites, who now form four classes, distinguished by the names of the doctors to whose several interpretations they adhere. The Turks are, for the most part, followers of the first, or Hanifites. Especially is this true of the religious orders and men in civil authority, since the jurisprudence of the nation is conformed to the peculiarities of Hanifeh. Of the countries where the other classes prevail, I know no more than I have elsewhere set down. Sale says that the doctrine of Malek is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa; that of Al Shafeï in Arabia and Persia; and that of Hanbal chiefly within the limits of Arabia.* All this, however, seemed to me a matter of so little practical importance, that I remember only two or three instances in which I made it a subject of conversation with Mussulmans. A remark of one of my informants I have preserved, to show the relations in which the four classes stand to each other. "They are," he said, "like four roads. Each one says, that his road is shortest and best, but all acknowledge that they lead to one and the same place." Still a Mussulman will generally perform his devotions in a mosque where prayers are offered by an Imam of his own persuasion. In the temple at Mecca, each class has its own oratory. The same distinction is observed in the principal mosque at Diarbekir, and that is the only place in which I have noticed it. But thus much may suffice upon a subject of so little importance to my present design.

* Preliminary Discourse, Sect. VIII.

NARRATIVE.

THE EXAMPLE.

THE SON OF GOD..... BY WHOM WE HAVE RECEIVED GRACE AND APOSTLESHIP FOR OBEDIENCE TO THE FAITH AMONG ALL NATIONS... I AM A DEBTOR BOTH TO THE GREEKS AND TO THE BARBARIANS, BOTH TO THE WISE AND TO THE UNWISE.—*St. Paul.*

NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM NEW-YORK TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

FAREWELL MEETING—INSTRUCTIONS—EMBARKATION—JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE—VOYAGE THROUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN—THE ARCHIPELAGO—SYRA—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MISSIONS—ISLANDS—THE TROAD—TURKISH PEASANT—ALEXANDRIA TROAS—ST. PAUL—STEAMERS—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—THE HELLESPONT—MUSSULMAN DEVOTIONS—ARRIVAL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

I RECEIVED the final instructions of the Foreign Committee, at a public meeting in the Church of the Ascension, New-York, on the evening of Easter Sunday, April 3, 1836, the Bishop of New-York being present and presiding. In these instructions I was directed to consider Persia as the principal field of my mission, while I was left at liberty to extend my inquiries into Turkey, Syria and Egypt. The course of my travels and the plan of my work were referred to my own judgment, from a well-grounded apprehension that specific directions upon points which must, in the main, be determined by circumstances, would tend to embarrass rather than to aid me. I was instructed, however, to consider the two great objects of my inquiries to be "the actual moral and religious state of the inhabitants of the re-

gions which I might visit, and the spots where missionary stations might be most advantageously established." I was directed to regard "personal travel and daily familiar intercourse with the people" as the principal means for attaining the objects of my mission, and was instructed to keep a regular journal of my travels and observations. The terms of intercourse with Christians of other denominations were defined in the kindly and judicious expressions of the venerable Bishop White, whose career had not then closed. Finally, I was pointed to the animating fact that I was going forth "not at the bidding of a private association, but as the messenger of a church recognizing the obligation of the command of her divine Founder," and to this circumstance I was bidden to look for the hope of united and constant prayer in my behalf.

Thus prepared, I embarked at New-York, for France, on the twenty-fourth of April, and, after a passage of thirty-seven days, arrived at Havre, the thirty-first of May. Thence I proceeded to Paris, where I spent several days in procuring works for the study of the Oriental languages. From Paris I continued my journey two days to Chalons on the Sâone, where I took passage in a steamer and descended the river in twelve hours to Lyons. There I embarked again the following morning on the Rhone and reached Avignon before night. Finding a coach ready to depart I secured a seat, and travelling all night, arrived at Marseilles the next morning.

Here I was so fortunate as to find a French brig ready to proceed to Constantinople. She had a small cabin on her deck and was in every respect superior to most of the vessels of her class in the Mediterranean. I took passage in her and we left the harbour of Marseilles on

the morning of the second of July. On the sixth we passed the island of Sardinia, and on the eighth were in sight of the high and broad bluff of Cape Bon, on the African coast. Nothing could exceed the delicious softness and purity of the atmosphere during most of the voyage. On the tenth we ran along the southern shore of Sicily, and at half-past nine, on the morning of the fifteenth, passed Cape Matapan and entered the Archipelago. The four succeeding days we were beating against a strong north wind, which increased so much in violence that our captain was compelled to change his course and run into the port of Syra for safety. The town broke suddenly upon our view as we approached it, rising in an amphitheatre of hills which came down to the water's edge. All the islands which we had passed in the Archipelago had appeared barren and desolate, but on entering the harbour of Syra our eyes were greeted with all the signs of a flourishing commercial town. The little port was crowded with vessels of different nations, but chiefly French, Austrian and Greek.

The violence of the gale continuing we were detained in port the two following days, which I spent in a most agreeable manner in the family of Dr. Robertson, of the American Episcopal Mission. Dr. R. was himself absent on a visit to the United States. Since his departure a popular excitement had arisen against the schools of the American and English missionaries, but had subsided without more serious consequences than the temporary suspension of the schools. The principal establishment was the institution of the Rev. Mr. Hildner, a missionary of the (English) Church Missionary Society. It embraced six departments for learners of different grades, and, previous to the recent difficulties, had

furnished instruction to 600 pupils of both sexes. Mr. H. had just returned from Athens, whither he had been to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne. His representations had been graciously received, and the reply to them had assured him of the royal favour and protection.

The only other missionary school was one for girls, under the superintendance of Mrs. Robertson, who had contrived to add the charge of it to the care of a large family. It had been re-opened since the cessation of the disturbances, but with the number of pupils reduced from eighty to thirty. The school was held in an old building which had formerly been occupied as a theatre, and some tattered remnants of finery were still hanging from the walls. Mrs. R. had caused it to be divided into three apartments by means of partitions of rough boards, and in each of these apartments part of the girls were sitting, some on benches and some on the floor.

The second day of my visit I dined with the Rev. Mr. Leeves, whose name is so widely known in connection with efforts for the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures in the East. He was then engaged in a translation of the Old Testament into modern Greek, a work which has since been completed. A portion had already been published, of which he showed me a copy in elegant binding, intended as a present for the king of Greece. In the afternoon we went out to visit the printing establishment of the American Mission. On our way we passed the government schools, which were originally established by Dr. Korck, one of the earliest and most zealous friends of education in Greece. On his departure from the island they were transferred to the patronage of the royal government, by which they are still sustained.

The mode of instruction is nearly the same as formerly, and their national character is indicated by the blue and white striped flag of Greece suspended from the wall of the principal apartment. I found the missionary presses in a small, low building, of a most humble exterior. One of them bore an inscription purporting that it was the gift of ladies in Hartford. The donors would have been gratified in witnessing its employment at the moment when I saw it. It was rapidly throwing off printed sheets of the translation of the Bible before mentioned. What human imagination can trace the future history of those sheets down to their latest results? What human foresight can predict all the consequences of a single act of pious benevolence on the part of a few friends of the kingdom of Christ?

The afternoon of the twentieth, word was sent me by the captain that the brig would sail at midnight. At nine in the evening I bade adieu to my friends in Syra, after commending ourselves and our common cause to God, and went on board, more depressed, I fear, for what I lost in parting from them, than thankful for what I had enjoyed in their company.

The removal of the American Mission from Syra since my visit, renders it unnecessary for me to describe a place whose central position and extensive commercial relations, have made it the most familiarly known of all the islands of the Archipelago. We did not finally leave the harbour till the night of the twenty-first, and when I awoke the following morning we were gliding with a light breeze through the passage between Tinos and Myconi. A town on the former was full in sight. The tower of the church could be distinguished rising high above the other buildings, and I could distinctly hear its clock striking the hour of seven. Behind the

town and on either side, the hills sloped gradually back, disclosing the finest view that I had yet seen in the Archipelago. Instead of the barren and dry surface which until now had everywhere met the eye, they were spread with verdure and the fresh brown of cultivated fields. We passed, during the day, within sight of Naxia, Nicaria and Samos, and just as the sun went down, Scio and Ipsara were in view. The wind came round towards night and we made slow progress until Sunday, the twenty-fourth, when we passed Mitylene and came in sight of Lemnos and Tenedos. We were now near the entrance of the Dardanelles, and the scene around us the following morning reminded us of our approach to the royal city. There were no less than twenty square-rigged vessels within sight, all standing towards a single point. At 9 A.M., a breeze from the North sprang up, and freshened till noon, when the water presented a curious and lively scene. The vessels which had been lying motionless upon the glassy surface, changed their places and begun to beat towards the Dardanelles. Their movements, as they tacked in different directions and crossed each other's track, seemed like the complicated play of some vast piece of machinery. At noon the coast of Asia was close upon our right. It presented a reach of plain extending on either hand as far as the eye could survey, beyond which rose a range of hills running parallel with the shore. The highest point was the green summit of Mount Ida. The plain in front was the Troad, or the plain of Troy; Tenedos was on our left, and over the plain to the south-east, were visible the ruins of Alexandria Troas, distant in appearance about two leagues.

We came to anchor three miles from the shore at 5 P.M. The following morning, the boat was sent to

Tenedos for provisions, and returned in a few hours with melons, pears, eggs and a live kid. In the afternoon it was again lowered, and the passengers, three in number, with the captain, embarked with the design of visiting the ruins. On reaching the shore and ascending the low bank which bounded the narrow strip of beach, a scene truly Oriental met the view. Before us lay an extensive and desert plain, upon which a large herd of camels were feeding. Most of the females were accompanied by their young. We went towards them in the hope of finding some one who could give us the necessary directions for reaching the ruins. We at length came upon a man asleep under a bush. As he was the first Asiatic whom I had seen, his image still remains in my memory with a freshness that only first impressions can impart. He wore upon his shoulders a sort of tunic, which was met at the waist by breeches of coarse cloth, and of ample dimensions, reaching to the knee. Below these, were tight leggins, made of plaited cord. His head was covered with a red cap, around which were wound several folds of white cotton. His feet were protected by a sort of sandal, formed of circular pieces of untanned skin, and confined by a leathern thong run through holes near the rim and gathered about the ankle. By his side lay a pipe, the stem of which was a round stick, the bowl of burnt clay, and the mouth-piece of a white and inferior kind of amber. His tunic was open, and exposed a huge neck and broad chest of the colour of polished mahogany. His upper lip and chin were covered with a thick, black beard. He was a Turkish peasant of Asia Minor, a character with which I afterwards became more familiar. We awoke him, but he did not appear in the least surprised at the sight of men in a foreign dress, and indeed, took little notice of us

One of our party addressed him in Greek, but he sluggishly shook his head to signify that he did not understand. We then endeavoured to communicate with him by signs, but this was equally ineffectual and we soon left him. Pursuing, as nearly as we could judge, the direction of the ruins as we had observed them from the water, we continued our walk for an hour, over the sandy plain, when our captain, whose huge frame was melting under the heat of the sun, and one of the passengers, who, deceived by the fine appearance of things from the brig, had undertaken the walk in his slippers, gave out, and the party returned to the ship.

The next day I obtained permission from the captain to renew the attempt, and one of the passengers offered to accompany me. The part of the plain which we traversed after landing, was a low, sandy ground, overgrown with brambles, thorns and straggling bushes, with here and there an old, stinted oak. We passed two wells, of one of which, the curb-stone was a fragment of a marble column of a bluish tinge. As we advanced, our way became more difficult, lying through a close growth of underwood, which concealed every thing from our view. At length we came upon a ridge, which we at once conjectured to be the remains of the ancient wall. It was about twenty feet high, and of equal thickness at the base, the summit being rounded and covered with soil. We ascended it and walked along its top for a mile. Its breadth in some parts was much greater than where we first struck it. In some places it seemed to consist of terraces rising above each other, of which we could distinctly perceive the successive gradations. After following it a mile, we came to an open area through which we could easily trace the direction of the wall. Here we soon met with more

distinct marks of ruins than we had yet seen. They consisted chiefly of heaps of stones and masses of rock much worn by the action of the weather. In this part too, the lower portion of the wall was uncovered, so that its structure could be clearly perceived. It was composed of oblong blocks of stone laid in cement, which had nearly attained the consistency of the masses which it united. The ground was everywhere strewed with fragments of brick and earthern vessels.

The evening was now closing upon us, and we were compelled to abandon our search for the ruins which we had seen from the brig, and which we judged to be farther to the south. We struck off, therefore, in a straight line towards the sea, hoping to reach the shore before darkness came. As we broke our way through the wild bushes which obstructed our path, we suddenly scared a large owl from his rest. The sight of this inhabiter of ruins, the almost painful stillness which reigned, and the gathering gloom of night, gave an air of awful desolation to the spot.

My companion had undertaken the excursion in the thought that he was visiting the ruins of Troy, which is generally supposed by travellers, to have stood at the other extremity of the plain, thirty miles to the north. But for me, the real interest of the place arose from its association with the labours of the earliest missionaries of the cross. It was here that the vision of the man of Macedonia appeared to Paul in the night, and it was here that he embarked for Neapolis, on the northern coast of the Ægæan, whence he carried the gospel to Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth. (Acts xvi. 8. et seq.) It is probable that he also embarked at this place on the eve of his second visit to Macedonia, (Acts, xx. 1.,) and that it was then that he had

come hither "to preach Christ's Gospel," and found 'a door open unto him.' (2 Cor. ii. 12.) He was here a third time on his return from Macedonia, accompanied by seven of the most distinguished of the disciples. With them and the Christians of the city, he celebrated the eucharist on the night before his departure, which was the night of the Lord's day, and continued preaching and conversing until the dawn, interrupted only by the accident which happened to one of his hearers, and the miracle which followed upon it. (Acts, xx. 4, et seq.) The interest attached to these associations was the motive which led me to the site of the city where the events occurred. Indeed, while standing upon the spot, it was grateful even to recollect that it was here the Apostle, in one of his missionary tours, left his cloak with his books and parchments, (2 Tim. iv. 13.)* The latter, Bishop Bull supposes to have been a kind of common-place book, which the Apostle used for the purpose of occasional records. They may have been memoranda of his travels and labours. The necessity of leaving behind him a part of his clothing and papers, is sometimes still experienced by the Eastern traveller. On reaching the shore, we found the boat waiting for us, in which we embarked and soon reached the brig.

The two following days we were detained in the same position by the north wind, which rendered the Dardanelles absolutely inaccessible for merchant vessels. At that time there were from fifty to sixty lying near us at anchor, waiting, like ourselves, for a change of wind. During the summer months, the wind from the north continues to blow with little intermission, and proves a serious obstruction to the commerce of Constantinople.

* See Appendix, VI.

The same difficulty is encountered in the ascent of the Bosphorus from the city to the Black Sea, or is rather increased by the force of the current. At the time of my leaving Constantinople, in 1838, a small English steamer was employed in towing vessels through the Bosphorus, and the same advantage may ere this have been extended to the Dardanelles. At the time of my arrival, another English steamer was plying between Smyrna and Constantinople. She passed us on the morning of the thirtieth, having left Smyrna the preceding evening. We had now been detained five days at our anchorage, without any indication of a change of wind. I determined, therefore, with another of the passengers, to get on board the steamer. The captain ordered the boat to be manned, and we put off with the French flag flying from the stern. In a few minutes we were on board and shooting past the fleet of vessels at anchor.

My first impression of Turkish character was received in watching the composure of the camel-driver, whom we surprised on the plains of Troy. The second was excited in coming upon the deck of the steamer. As we approached we had seen no one besides the captain and those of the crew who were ordered to help us on board, but on reaching the deck I found it crowded with Turks, some stretched at their length on carpets spread under the bulwarks, and others sitting with their legs crossed, demurely smoking. In a retired spot was a group of females, whose faces were veiled with the white *yashmak*, which concealed all the features except the eyes, and their persons covered with the uncomely *ferejeh*, which as effectually hid the body. No one had risen to observe the cause of the detention of the boat; and when we entered, no curiosity was betrayed be-

yond a calm and indifferent glance as we passed along the deck.

The passage of the Hellespont has been so often described, and with so many and various conjectures respecting its ancient localities, that it will require no apology for a new traveller to leave it without remark. The objects which first recalled the remembrance of the events that once transpired on its shores, were two mounds of an oval shape on the promontory of Sigoeum, which are believed to be the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. I saw another of the same description at the place where I landed in visiting the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and a fourth, partly destroyed, a mile or two farther to the south. If I may add another to the various explanations which have been given of the epithet *broad*, applied by Homer to the Hellespont, I would say that he may have alluded to that part immediately contiguous to the seat of the events which he pourtrays; for before passing the straits formed by the island of Tenedos and the main, and just opposite to the site of Ilium, the Hellespont expands, as Homer elsewhere has it, *unbounded*. The true channel terminates at the promontory of Sigoeum, where now stands one of the Turkish forts which guard the passage of the Dardanelles. Before noon we stopped at Tchanak Kalesi, which is built nearly upon the site of the ancient Dardanus, and then continued our course through the narrow and winding passage between Sestos and Abydos. The general appearance of the Dardanelles is that of a large river flowing between banks everywhere pleasant, in some parts wooded, but on the whole far inferior in beauty to those of the Bosphorus. At five, P.M., we touched at Gallipoli, to receive passengers.

Among those who now crowded the deck, was one

whose actions I watched with such an interest as the first sight of a Mussulman at his prayers naturally excited. He was a middle-aged Turk, and, unlike most of the others, wore a beard, which is not, as I once supposed, a customary appendage of a Turkish face. Unlike the others, also, he was noisy and turbulent. He had spread his carpet upon a part of the deck reserved for the cabin passengers, and persisted in remaining there until he was removed by force. I was not then informed of the appointed hours of Mussulman devotions, but the frequency with which his own were repeated, seemed to me to have something supererogatory in it. Whenever the moment for them came, he arose, and taking his carpet, spread it upon the spot from which he had been ejected, apparently in the thought that the sacredness of his business would save him from interruption at such a time. He then commenced his prostrations and silent prayers, but not with that perfect abstraction which I had been accustomed to associate with the devotions of Mussulmans. In those parts of the prayers where the worshipper pauses on his knees, he looked complacently around him, as if to observe whether he was seen of others. The time that he spent in this manner was almost the only moment in which his voice was not heard in vociferation, for it was literally true that he would rise from his prayers to quarrel, and leave quarrelling to pray. Others performed their devotions in a less ostentatious manner, excepting that some who by change of place had lost the bearing of the *Keblah*, commenced them by inquiring of the captain the direction of the holy city.

On leaving Gallipolis we entered the sea of Marmara. Night had set in when we reached the island of that name, and when I came on deck the next morning, the

boat was passing the *Seven Towers*, which stand in the extreme angle of the wall of Constantinople. The remainder of our course skirted the wall, and at half-past six, on the morning of the 31st of July, the anchor was cast in the harbour of the city.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

STUDY OF THE TURKISH—ITS USE—RIGHT JUDGMENT OF EASTERN CHARACTER—LODGINGS—HASSUNA D'GHIZ—TEACHERS OF TURKISH—TURKISH HONESTY—PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA—SULTAN'S PORTRAITS—MOHAMMEDAN AVERSION TO PICTURES—THE ROYAL SCHOOLS—IGNORANCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AMONG THE TURKS—COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH LABOURS IN ORIENTAL LITERATURE—THE PLAGUE—ITS CHARACTER—FATALITY—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST IT—EFFECTS OF ITS APPEARANCE IN A FAMILY—FEELINGS OF THE TURKS RESPECTING IT—IGNORANCE A CAUSE OF NEGLECTING PRECAUTIONS—ITS INFLUENCE ON MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

MY object at Constantinople was the study of the Oriental languages preparatory to my tour. My inquiries soon satisfied me that during the time which I expected to devote to it, I could not embrace so wide a range as I had contemplated. The acquisition of the Arabic alone would require months, and even years, of toil. Besides that, its colloquial use was almost unknown in Constantinople and in most of the countries through which I was to travel. The Turkish, on the contrary, is everywhere spoken throughout the vast dominions of the Sultan, by Christians as well as Mussulmans. It is everywhere the language of government, and generally of trade. It is heard in the bazars even of Bagdad, of Syria, and of Egypt, and it is the vernacular tongue of the northern and western provinces of Persia. I chose it, therefore, in preference to any other, and I never afterwards found

reason to repent of my choice. It proved to be the only language which was spoken by some individuals in every town and village through which I passed. In Mesopotamia the Arabic would have done me better service, as would the Kurdish in Kurdistan; but in neither of these countries, so far as I penetrated them, was I ever at a loss to find those with whom I could communicate. The day will come, and, perhaps, is not far distant, when missionaries in the East will devote themselves more than now, to itinerant labours, like those of the Apostles. The Turkish will then be found the only language which will afford a medium of communication with all the various kindreds of people scattered through Asiatic and European Turkey.

My instructions had pointed me to the necessity of daily and intimate intercourse with the people, as the grand means of accomplishing the objects of my mission. The necessity of such a course is apparent to all, but the real importance of my instructions in this particular, I did not appreciate until I found myself in the midst of an Eastern population. At the end of my first month's residence in Constantinople, I might have promulgated my opinions on Turkish institutions and customs with the utmost confidence. At the end of three months, I began to perceive the fallacy of most of my conclusions, and when six months had passed, I found that I knew next to nothing of the object of my study. But one useful lesson I had learned. I saw that my first judgments had been inaccurate, because they had been formed from a false position. I had begun to study the East with a Western mind. I had applied a standard of judgment which necessarily presented a false measurement. Maturer observation showed me the incorrectness of my results, and led me at once to the cause. I had

assumed the office of a judge without having learned the rules of right judgment. I was framing opinions upon the institutions and character of a people of whose peculiar genius I knew nothing. My mind was in utter confusion, which only increased as I proceeded. I was compelled, therefore, to retrace my steps, and to take the humble position of a learner before I presumed to exercise the office of a judge. From that moment my determination was fixed. I resolved to throw myself among the people, and to retire as much as possible from the influence of Western associations, by departing from Western habits and society. I determined to discard my own prejudices, and to endeavour to penetrate beneath those of the people whom I wished to learn. This was at first a personal sacrifice which I deeply felt, but the object that I had in view seemed to be worthy of it. I reflected that Christian research had been almost entirely unknown among the Mussulmans of Turkey. Her agricultural and commercial resources had been elaborately developed, the manners and customs of her people had been variously and accurately delineated, but the great question of her intellectual and moral regeneration had never been answered or asked. I endeavoured, therefore, to place myself in the position of an unprejudiced inquirer, to consider that my only object was to learn the truth, to throw off those antipathies which the Christian world has too freely cherished against the followers of Mohammed, and to regard them as men and immortal.

In accordance with my general plan, I endeavoured to obtain lodgings in a Turkish family, or at least in a Turkish quarter, but the result of the attempt showed how difficult a task I had undertaken. Among the few native friends that I had made, most of whom were

Christians, there was no one who could be induced to act as my agent in the matter. The proposal, they said, was utterly preposterous. My residence would not be endured among the habitations of Turks, much less in their households. Before my departure from the country, two years subsequent to this date, I had acquired friends who, I believe, would have admitted me to this intimacy, but at the time of which I now speak, I was a stranger and dependant on the good offices of native Christians, who, seldom maintaining themselves private intercourse with the Turks, are, for the most part, neither willing nor able to introduce others to it. I adopted, therefore, the only course that remained to me, and retained the lodgings which I already occupied in the Frank quarter of Pera, and in the house of one of that numerous class in the Levant, who are natives of the country, but, on the paternal side, of foreign parentage. In particularizing the body, I do not mean to question their respectability. Towards the friend to whom I have alluded, it would be ungrateful, as well as unjust. He had the means, which, in my own case, he faithfully used, of aiding me to pass the precincts within which I was determined to stand. During the few months which I then spent at Constantinople I formed acquaintances with Mussulmans, which subsequently, in several instances, ripened into friendships, and now form some of the most pleasant reminiscences of my life. To one only my thoughts never revert without a pang.

Hassuna d' Ghiz was an Arab by birth, but had been partly trained in France, whose language he spoke with fluency. There, too, he had received enough of the light of European learning to give an enlarged and elevated range to his naturally strong mind. After vari-

ous reverses of fortune, he had been called to Constantinople to assume the editorial care of the Royal Gazette, upon the decease of its first and very able editor, Blacque. It was in this station that I knew him. As a Mussulman, he could hardly have fallen into a sphere of higher usefulness. Free himself from the narrow prejudices of his religion, he was qualified to be an able co-adjutor in recommending and defending the great work of reform commenced by his master. He had already laboured well and successfully in this department. Both by his pen and his tongue he had ably advocated the royal schemes of improvement, aiming chiefly to show them to be consonant with the doctrines of Islamism. His ground was a weak one, but he defended it manfully. I have never seen an Oriental so thoroughly imbued with a generous ambition for improvement. But it was of short duration. While the plague was raging in the city during the winter of 1836–37, I inquired one day for D' Ghiz. He was ill. The next day he was in his grave. I make this record of his fate that it may quicken others as it quickened me; for nothing has ever more strongly operated to deepen my desire for the salvation of the Mussulmans than the recollection of so noble a mind, so generous and devoted a heart, going down amidst the darkness of Mohammedanism.

As my object required only a colloquial knowledge of the language, I begun to learn phrases before I had committed to memory the letters of the alphabet, and I had even gone over with my teacher the principal formularies of the grammar, before I was able to distinguish one character from another. He taught me the declensions by verbal dictation, and I recorded the examples which he added, in English characters. In the mean time I enlarged daily my number of phrases, which I put care-

fully on record and committed to memory at leisure. This system of instruction continued three months, when I found myself master of the common forms of grammar and of a little treasure of set speeches, besides the power, still in an infant growth, of framing others. Proud of my acquisitions, I ventured to engage a second teacher, who was a Turk and knew no language besides his own. My first had been a Frank, a native of Constantinople, and so far as his knowledge went, a skilful instructer. Most of the professional teachers of Turkish in Constantinople, and they are but few, are of this character. Turks seldom engage in the business, and, indeed, are not to be sought at the outset, both because they have no language besides their own in which to communicate with the pupil, and because, even of their own, they possess no systematic knowledge. Admirable as is the symmetry of the Turkish language, perfect as is the uniformity of its structure, regular, free from anomaly and philosophical as are its forms, it has remained to this day in the original without a grammar. Its order and beauty appear a pure accident. A Turk knows it as he learns it in childhood. His pride is in the perfectness of his pronunciation, and in his knowledge of those proprieties of language which form the ceremonial of society. And well it may be, for the speech of a Turk is never heard from the mouth of an alien. There may be fluency and grammatical accuracy, but there is always a defective knowledge of idioms, or, at the best, a difference of accent and tone which betrays at once to a Turk, a foreign tongue.

My new teacher was what was once a stranger character among the Mussulmans than at the present day, an intemperate and unprincipled Turk. Imagining, from all that I had read and heard, that the word of a

Turk was as good as a bond, I concluded my contract with Izzet Effendi by paying him in advance two months' stipend, to relieve him, as he said, from the immediate pressure of want. By dint of daily remonstrances, I extorted, in the space of two months, the number of lessons which should have been given in one, when he abandoned me altogether, leaving me, however, the comfort of having learned for my future benefit, that a Turk may be a rogue. The lesson was afterwards repeated often enough to teach me, that the virtue most commonly attributed to the Turkish character is far from being a universal one. This, however, may be safely affirmed, that, as a nation, they are true in word, upright in dealings, and faithful to promises. The exceptions are chiefly to be traced to accidental causes. A Turk in power is generally contaminated by the corrupt and mercenary system which reigns in the high places of authority. Oppression renders the poor peasant of the interior, false as well as indolent. Traffic, at least in Constantinople, is polluted by contact with European trickery and fraud, and many a Turkish tradesman in the capital can cheat with as great dexterity as a foreigner. On the whole, however, the word of a Turk is more to be trusted than that of a native Christian. This, too, is, I believe, an accidental circumstance, to be attributed mainly to the influence of servitude and oppression on the moral character. Nor is the honesty of the Turk always worthy of the name of virtue. As he is seldom acquisitive in disposition or ambitious to improve his condition, he is free from the temptation of resorting to illicit means. His honesty, like most of his virtues, is often negative, an apathetic abstinence from what is wrong, rather than a chosen and hearty practice of what is right. Truth, however, requires me to add, that I have

never known a Mussulman sincere in his faith, and devout and punctual in his religious duties, in whom moral rectitude did not seem an active quality and a living principle.

As my aim in every part and period of my mission was to avoid old paths, and to add something to the su mtotal of knowledge, respecting the countries that I traversed, my reader will not expect me to go over the common-places of a description of the Imperial City of the East. To me it was only a brief resting-place in my passage to the regions beyond. The pictures of its romantic beauty still linger in my mind, and the fascination of its novel scenes and manners is still fresh in my imagination. Probably to every one who will follow in these pages the steps of my pilgrimage, these are familiar themes. But the *incidents* and *events* pourtrayed by each successive witness are ever new. Upon such of these, therefore, as, during my residence, I found most worthy of record, I may be permitted, for a moment, to dwell.

The next day after my arrival, I witnessed the departure of a vessel crowded with pilgrims to Mecca. Her destination was to some port on the coast of Syria, whence the pilgrims would proceed to Damascus, the great place of rendezvous for all the Asiatic devotees who visit the *Kaabah*. From that city they depart in a body, at the close of Ramazan, the month of the annual Mohammedan fast, and reach Mecca in season for the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at the *Kourban Bairam*,* seventy days after. Five solar months still remained before the time of departure from Damascus, and yet a crowd of pilgrims were already leaving Constantinople. The so-

* Feast of Sacrifice.

lution was, that some of the poorer sort were intending to make the pilgrimage, as the Koran permits,* a source of pecuniary, as well as religious profit, by engaging in traffic on the way, while others, in the true spirit of Orientals, were expecting to waste ten or twelve months on what might be accomplished in half the time. The great body of the annual pilgrims from Constantinople, however, perform the journey by land. They assemble at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, whither the magnificent presents annually made by the Sultan, are sent in a procession of boats from his palace at Beshik Tash, on the European side. This is the common order, but in the year of my own residence at Constantinople, a steamer was employed for the purpose. The occasion calls out a splendid pageant, and the presents themselves are of extraordinary value.

The scene of the departing pilgrims seemed to me, at the moment, at least, a small proof of the remaining vigour of Islamism; but it was followed in a few days by another, which looked more like decay. On the 4th of August, it was announced that a portrait of the Sultan was to be presented to the cavalry-barracks near Pera, and I thought the occasion worthy of attention. A similar honour had already been conferred on several public buildings, and it was intended that others still, should share it. Before my final departure from Constantinople, in the summer of 1838, a woful misrepresentation of the royal features was to be seen in most, if not all, the barracks, in several of the public offices and in the cabins of some of the ships of war. Upon the day of which I speak, the Sultan himself was expected to be present, and the crowd collected to witness the ceremony was im-

* Chap. ii.

mense. There were pointed out to me representatives of twelve different nations, among whom were Turks, Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Circassians, distinguished by their different garbs and features. Then came the races of Europe, homogeneous, at least in their outward man, and here and there appeared a solitary American. I was astonished at the throngs of Turkish women, and to see them moving about at liberty, excepting some of those belonging to the harems of the great, who were seated in gaudy *arabas*, drawn by grey oxen, and furnished with the richest hangings and cushions,—as every traveller has described. I remember well how inconsistent this female publicity, though it was publicity in a close veil, appeared with my previous idea of Turkish seclusion. It is more, however, to be marked in Constantinople than in any other city of the Empire.

After the crowd had remained for hours in the most exemplary endurance of a hot sun and clouds of dust, the approach of the cavalcade was announced by the roar of cannon, and long trains of cavalry and infantry soon appeared, followed by the Serasker Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the army. He was a short and stout personage, with an intelligent face and a silvery beard, the same that now holds the first place in the councils of the new Sultan. After him came a beautiful carriage drawn by four horses, moving in solemn state in the van of the Sultan's body guard. The crowd bent eagerly forward to catch a glimpse of the royal person. But he was not there. The interior was occupied only by the likeness of himself, the portrait for which all this stir and ceremony had been created, laid carefully upon luxurious cushions and covered with a rich cloth. The procession entered beneath the arch

that led to the interior court of the barracks, where the act of presentation was performed. It consisted simply of a prayer offered by an Imam, at the close of which the multitude responded with a loud AMEN.

I went away from the scene lost in reflection. 'Here,' I said to myself, 'is a palpable violation of the commands of the Koran, and a gross outrage upon the prejudices of Mussulmans, perpetrated by the acknowledged head of the religion and the avowed successor of its founder. And it is just such as would most scandalize serious and devout Mohammedans. It is the representation of the human form, which is of all, most offensive to them; and even that is not a work of fancy, which would be regarded with greater indulgence, but an actual resemblance of a living person; and to aggravate the insult to religion as much as possible, without commanding adoration, this painted resemblance is conveyed along the public ways, with military pomp and amidst the roar of cannon, consecrated by the sacred forms of religion and set up before the eyes of all men. Even to the subjects of a Christian prince, such an act would appear like an aspiration to divine honours, but to a Mussulman, it must seem downright idolatry.'

I subsequently learned that what I anticipated, was true. This innovation of the Sultan had given serious offence to the more rigid Mussulmans, one of whom ventured even to utter his remonstrances in one of the public buildings, and before the portrait itself. What was the motive of the Sultan in thus running athwart the prejudices of his people, I will not pretend to divine, though various and manifold were the conjectures to which the matter gave rise in the circles of Pera. It may be well, however, to add, that this prejudice, founded originally on the extreme jealousy of idolatry, which

Mohammed, in imitation of the great Jewish legislator, felt, or pretended to feel, is by no means common to all Turks, and is subsiding in the minds of the multitude. The number is not small who have paintings and engravings in their possession, though they are not always free to exhibit them. In some few instances, I have seen them in Turkish shops and cafés. In one of the latter, in Stamboul, which I used to visit for the sake of finding a company almost exclusively Mussulman, the walls were literally covered with pictures. Among them were representations of mosques, battles and dervishes, while, shame to add, others presented indecent scenes of the most infamous description. The last were, without exception, European engravings. I can hardly credit my own record made at the time, when I add, the keeper of the café was an Emir and a Haji, a descendant of Mohammed himself, and one who had performed the great pilgrimage to the place of his birth.—I have seen paintings exhibited for sale by a Turk in the court of one of the imperial mosques of Constantinople. A crowd was always gathered around them, examining them with the most eager curiosity, for, notwithstanding religious prohibitions, a Turk's delight in pictures, when he suffers himself to look upon them, is like the extravagant fondness of a child. One day, as I was standing near, a Mussulman, whose neatly and peculiarly formed turban marked him as belonging to the religious orders, while its colour of green distinguished him as a descendant of his prophet, approached and commenced a violent declamation against the pictures, pronouncing them unlawful and commanding that they should be removed. I passed the place the next day, but they were no more to be seen. I have repeatedly witnessed scenes like this, in my solitary intrusions into places fre-

quented by Mussulmans; but what I have said, is enough for the subject.

From innovations like that to which I have just alluded, and which seem, at least, of doubtful utility, my attention was soon drawn to others of a different character. After the overthrow of the Janissaries had left the Sultan free to prosecute the work of reform without other let or hinderance than the jealousy of the *Oulema*,* he established in and around the capital, six or seven schools, intended, I believe, exclusively for the instruction of the army. Here, as in nearly all his changes, he aimed chiefly at military improvement. As late as the summer of 1838, he had not attempted any general diffusion of knowledge among his subjects. The two principal schools, and indeed, the only ones where the European system of instruction was to a considerable extent introduced, were those at Dolma Baghtcheh and Scutari, both in the immediate vicinity of the city. In each of these there were school-rooms upon the Lancasterian plan and lecture-rooms. With the school at Dolma Baghtcheh, were connected a printing and lithographic press, a hospital and a book-bindery. European maps, with the names re-written in Turkish characters, were suspended from the walls, and the apartments were furnished with globes, orreries and most of the ordinary apparatus for instruction. On the 8th of September, 1836, I attended, with a company of friends, an examination of both the schools at the barracks of Dolma Baghtcheh. It was confined to Algebra, Arithmetic, Drawing and Penmanship, in all of which the appearance of the scholars was as creditable as is commonly

* *Oulema*, plural of *alim*, a learned man.

witnessed on like occasions at schools or colleges in New-England.

I afterwards became more intimately acquainted with the discipline and general conduct of these institutions, but I cannot add that maturer knowledge gave me greater confidence in their utility, as they were then conducted. They are intended to be institutions of a superior order, while the science of education is utterly unknown. They are committed to native hands, wholly incompetent to the task of directing so strange an establishment. They are modelled after European patterns, while they are managed by men, as is every Turk, uninstructed in European learning and destitute of European experience. They are, therefore, without a settled organization. They pass from hand to hand, and the system of control changes with the change of governors. There is no trained and experienced mind to regulate the branches of instruction, to test the competency of teachers, or to arrange the various parts into one orderly system. Hence changes have been hastily adopted, some departments have been so much curtailed as to be nearly inefficient, and little, of permanent utility, has been accomplished. Yet the design is noble and praiseworthy, and the institutions themselves are at least omens of good. Nor is it a cause for discouragement, that at the first they are productive of no great results. The object being good, the time must come when experience shall have taught the proper means for attaining it, and success will be ensured.

The two schools to which particular allusion has been made, embrace a wider range of instruction than the others. They are intended to impart what is equivalent, to use our homely New-England phrase, to a good English education, besides instruction in military sci-

ence. The others are designed exclusively for the latter object, and, excepting two of them, are devoted to the navy. When the schools commenced, there was an almost entire destitution of the requisite text-books. Some of a temporary and imperfect character have been prepared and are used in manuscript. Others have been translated, almost exclusively from the French, and printed at the royal presses. It is curious to observe in the books on military science, the large admixture of French words which are transferred unchanged, except in the characters which express them, from the original to the translation, in order to supply the extreme deficiency of scientific terms in Turkish. In most instances these volumes have been translated by Turks and some of them are of very great value.

Having alluded to the use of foreign languages, I will here add, that there are but few among the Turks who read or speak any language besides their own. The knowledge of French, however, is becoming more and more common, especially in the army. Most of those who have visited Europe, can converse in some one of its languages. I have met with several who spoke German, and with one who spoke English. By far the greater part, however, acquire the French in preference to any other, both on account of the greater facility of acquisition, of its more general utility and of the numerous aids which the French scholars have provided in the form of grammars, lexicons, chrestomathies, and even phrase-books. In English, on the contrary, there is no good grammar of the Turkish, no fit lexicon, nor any other auxiliary to the acquisition of the language, that I have been able to discover. In every respect, indeed, the Oriental labours of the French far surpass those of the English, both in extent and accuracy. In

philology a comparison can hardly be instituted. The French geographies and maps surpass all others. Their translations from the Eastern languages are more numerous. Their works, illustrative of the Mohammedan religion, have been multiplied to a far greater extent. Their researches into Eastern antiquities have been more patient and profound.

The English press has, indeed, excelled in books of travels, but most of them are of such a character as affords no ground for boast. The desire to amuse has superseded, in such works, the desire to instruct. Truth has been disregarded in the endeavour to interest. Opinions have been hazarded on the most superficial survey. The delusions concerning the East imposed upon the Western world by former travellers, later ones have not had the hardihood to dispel. On the contrary, they have increased and multiplied the evil. To sustain and satisfy the public avidity for the romantic and the marvellous, scenes, incidents, and events, nay, in one or two instances within my own knowledge, narrations of whole tours, never performed, have been fabricated and palmed upon the Western world.

One of the greatest obstacles to a peaceful and comfortable residence in Constantinople is, the frequent visitations of the plague. That which befel the city in the fall of 1836 was almost unprecedented in the fury and extent of its ravages. It had commenced before my arrival, and gradually increased till the end of November, when it again declined, and at the time of my departure, the following June, was supposed to be nearly extinct. I will not undertake to speculate upon the causes or nature of this terrible destroyer. It has sometimes been attributed to the filthiness of the city, but Constantinople is, at all times, more cleanly than the

commercial metropolis of the United States, and, excepting the Jews, the habits of the population are, in this particular, more scrupulous than our own. The truth, doubtless, is, that the city is never entirely free from the disease. As no measures for its extirpation have been adopted, it lurks in its oldplaces while the season is unfavourable for its manifestation, and appears again when the causes of its suspension are removed. Among the Mussulmans, at least, its germs are preserved in the linen and furniture which have been attainted, and are sent abroad in the clothes of the deceased, which are sold in the bazars. The universal opinion is, that it is contagious; but many regard it as communicable also without contact. The question, however, is one which it is extremely difficult to decide, for in no instance is it possible to determine that the individual has not touched a tainted substance. It is certain, however, that contact, and even the freest intercourse with the sick does not always produce it.

In numerous instances in the families of Mussulmans, where no precautions whatever are used, the disease takes only one or two, and leaves the others in perfect health. In the case of Hassuna, the physician, who was a European and his personal friend, believing that his restoration depended upon his being kept in ignorance of the nature of his disease, concealed from himself and the family the fact that it was the plague. No caution, therefore, was dreamed of, and yet the entire family escaped. In other instances, where no contact could be traced, in one in particular, where the individual had long been confined at home by infirm health, and was living in a retired house several miles distant from the city, the disease was taken. The most judicious opinion, therefore, seems to be, that its action de-

pends upon the state of the system, as well as upon external conditions, that with a predisposition in the individual it may be taken by contact, and that, without such predisposition, it will not be communicated in any way.

Its fatality is greater at some seasons than at others. Generally, both at its commencement and its decline, the proportion of deaths is less than when it is at its height. No accurate estimate, therefore, can be made of the number of deaths in a hundred cases. Certain it is, however, there are times when hardly any who are seized recover. About the middle of October, 1836, the number of deaths, during one week, as given in an official report, was about 1200. In November, the disease was at its height. There were currently reported to be nearly 2000 deaths daily, and the whole number of victims which fell during the autumn and winter, was believed, by many, to be not less than 100,000. For the truth of these popular estimates, I cannot vouch. The scenes which daily met my eyes proved, however, that the havoc was immense. Cemeteries of several acres in extent were so completely turned up, to receive new dead in the very graves where thousands were before reposing, as to assume the appearance of freshly-ploughed fields. I have seen, in one of the burying-grounds, a body of men engaged in digging graves, while the coffined dead were accumulating around them, faster than they could inter them. I have watched by the gate of Selyvria, which opens upon the great road to Adrianople, for many minutes together, and have seen an almost unbroken procession of coffins, borne upon the shoulders of porters, pass out to the cemetery on that side of the city, and so it continued from morning till night, and day after day. The

destructiveness of the disease is doubtless owing, in great measure, to accidental causes. The general ignorance with regard to its nature, and, consequently, the want of proper treatment, the fatalism of the Turks, and the equally unreasonable panic of Christians, the neglect and desertion of the sick by their friends, and the great mismanagement of the hospitals, increase, in a manifold degree, the extent and fatality of its ravages.

Among the respectable classes of the Franks, it seldom, if ever, becomes prevalent. For safety's sake, they subject themselves to the most annoying precautions. A wooden structure, in form resembling a sentry-box, and sufficiently capacious to admit one person standing upright, is placed close by the entrance to the house. Elevated a few inches from the bottom, is a wooden grate. Before any one is admitted to the house he must enter the box and take his stand upon the grate. A pan of coals, with a few sprigs of cypress, or some other odoriferous wood, is placed beneath. The door is shut and the sufferer, to save himself from suffocation, thrusts his head through a hole made in the door for the purpose. For half a minute he undergoes the fumigation of the smoking cypress, and is then admitted into the house. But still he is not supposed to be free from suspicion. He finds the carpets taken up, the sofas divested of their coverings, and the windows of their curtains. The friend, who was wont to meet him with a cordial shake of the hand, receives him at a cold distance, points him to a chair in the middle of the room, and talks with him about—the *plague!* When he retires, he is bowed out in the same ceremonious manner. Perhaps, if an intimate friend, he is invited to dine. There is no cloth upon the table, or if there be,

the part before him is carefully rolled back. No one sits in contact with him. No napkin is laid before him, and he is saved from the necessity of serving himself with his fingers, only because steel, silver, and crockery are not supposed to be contagious. A friend once called upon me, and, during our conversation, drew from his pocket a newspaper, which he wished me to read. For this purpose he spread it upon a table, where I might read without touching it. Unfortunately, however, I forgot myself so far as to turn one of the leaves with my thumb and fore-finger. The paper was instantly mine; it was suspicious; my friend would not receive it again.

Precautions, equally rigid, are observed in the streets. Customers are not allowed to touch any thing in the stores capable of communicating the disease. Sometimes they are prevented from entering, by a bar across the door-way. Cloth, and articles for dress, must be purchased by sight. I applied to my tailor for a suit of clothes. It was impossible to take the measure without coming in contact with my person. The only expedient that could be devised was to send him an old suit, which were first thoroughly fumigated, and then used as a pattern. Passengers in the streets studiously avoid contact with each other, which, in the narrow and thronged thoroughfares of Constantinople, is no easy task. Painted cloaks are sometimes worn as security, or a cane is carried in the hand to be interposed as a barrier, when necessary. The practice of avoiding contact becomes at length so habitual that some are able to affirm, that they are certain of having touched no one in the streets for two or three months. Money is received in water or vinegar; letters and packages of all kinds are fumigated; the clerks at the European post-offices re-

ceive letters with tongs. In a word, every thing is turned out of its common course. The wonted intercourse of friends is broken up, business is interrupted, the charities of life are almost suspended, every man seems to have suddenly grown selfish, places of public resort are abandoned, the theatre and the casino are forsaken, pleasure isforgotten, and even vice abstains from indulgence.

But when the destroyer has once entered a peaceful family, and the dreaded plague-sore has betrayed his presence, no words can describe the consternation which ensues. Friends, relations, oftentimes the nearest kindred, flee in terror and leave the victim to his fate. The neighbourhood is convulsed with fear. Every one who has lately been in contact with the sick becomes a suspected person, and is shunned like a very personification of the disease. The family retire to the hills without the town, and spend in tents such time as is supposed necessary for the disease to develop itself. Twenty, thirty, and even forty days are passed in this way. It used to be my practice, in my daily walks, to count the tents on the hill sides, and conjecture from their number the state of the plague. The diseased is carried away to a distant and retired tent, where some poor woman is hired to attend him, or is hurried to a more certain death in the hospital. The house undergoes a thorough fumigation. The bed and linen of the sick are burned. Every article of clothing is washed or destroyed. Every piece of furniture is purified, and the whole house drenched with water from garret to cellar.

This description is applicable throughout only to the Frank residents. It is true only in a limited extent of the native Christians. It is still less applicable to the Jews, and almost the very opposite of what is true of the Turks. The principle of Islamism on this subject

is contained in one simple precept of the Sunneh, into which it was received as a traditionary saying of Mohammed. "If the plague is in another city, enter it not; but if it is in the city where you reside, flee not from it." The ground of this is, that the plague is a calamity from God, which is not to be sought when absent, but is to be endured with resignation when present. For the most part, therefore, for there are exceptions which are rapidly increasing, the Turks use no safeguard against it, and appear perfectly fearless of its attacks. They do not avoid accustomed intercourse and contact with friends. They remain with, and minister to the sick, with unshrinking assiduity. They pursue their wonted avocations as though perfect health reigned around them. The café and the bath are as thronged as ever, and the fearful pestilence, which is wasting in every direction, seems to be as little thought of as it is seldom alluded to in conversation. The Mussulmans generally look with contempt on the pusillanimous precautions of the Christians, for such they appear to them. They seem to them to betoken a weak and worldly fear of death. And in truth there is something imposing in the unaffected calmness of Turks at such times. It is a spirit of resignation which becomes truly noble when it is exercised upon calamities that have already befallen them, for then submission is a duty, and their fatalism no longer implies a sinful and inhuman disregard of the lives that God has given. The fidelity with which they remain by the bedside of a friend is at least as commendable as the almost universal readiness among Franks to forsake it. It is wrong only in that the exposure is extended to more than is necessary. I have known a Turkish household of twenty-two, in which

every member but one was swept off in the space of a few days.

The neglect of precautionary measures by the Turks does not arise solely from their religious dogmas. They are almost universally ignorant of the nature of the disease, and are imperfectly aware of its contagious qualities. In several instances intelligent Mussulmans have been induced to use precautions, from observing how much less the Frank population suffered from the disease. Ignorance, no less than fatalism, makes the multitude incautious. My landlord refused to admit my Turkish teacher to his house unless he would submit to the ordinary process of fumigation. It was then the time of fast, during the month Ramazan. The teacher had no religious scruples against submission, but he was unwilling to be subjected to so unwonted an annoyance. He demurred, therefore, on the ground that though in itself it was not a sin, yet the smoke, entering his nostrils, penetrated to his palate, and thus brought him under condemnation for a violation of his fast.

I have treated my reader thus largely upon an unpleasant theme because of the important bearings of the subject on missionary operations in Turkey. The precautions that are used render the existence of the plague a serious detriment to a mission. Schools are suspended, and the intercourse of the missionary with the people is cut off. It may be a question, however, whether such a rigid system of seclusion is necessary. I did not feel at liberty to adopt it myself, nor would the nature of my work permit it. Others, however, and more experienced men may think differently. This, at least, is certain, that the exposure to frequent suspension, and the evil consequences following upon it, are a strong argument against the establishment of *common schools* where it prevails.

It may also be a question whether, during the seasons of the plague in the city, the missionary would not be better employed in itinerant labours in the country than he can be, with so much hazard to his health, in the long and dreary confinement of the closet.

CHAPTER III.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Drought—Public Prayer for Relief—Superstition, a Feature of Mohammedanism—Ramazan, or Month of Fasting—Its Institution—Its Observance—Parallel with Christian Fasts—Commencement of the Fast, how determined—Penalty for violating it—Opening of the Fast in 1836—Mode of spending the day during Ramazan—Scenes at Sunset—Illuminations—Anniversary of the Sultan's Birth—Night of Power—Close of the Fast—Minor Fasts.

While the population was rapidly dwindling before the destructive sweep of the pestilence and the flight of thousands whom terror drove from their homes, another calamity, hardly less grievous, threatened the city. It was now autumn, and the heavens had given no rain since the preceding April. The reservoirs which supply the city were nearly exhausted, and some of the public fountains were already dry. The lower classes were beginning to suffer, for, in some quarters, water was sold at so high a price that the daily wages of a poor man barely sufficed for his regular supply. By an Eastern population a deficiency of this element is accounted a heavier calamity than the presence of the plague. It is one, at least, to which they submit with less resignation. Of the Turk it is the most favourite, almost, indeed, excepting his coffee, the only beverage. He is as choice in the quality of his water as a Western epicure is in the stamp and flavour of his wines. His habit of frequent

ablution, both for religious purposes and for personal comfort, makes it almost essential to his existence. In his judgment, nothing so highly recommends a house or a village as a superiority in the quality of its water. Sometimes for days before a traveller reaches a place of this description, he will hear from his native attendants the praises of its water, "fresh and cool as ice." Though free from thirst, they will turn him aside to some favourite spring just to taste of the crystal stream, as a Western would quaff some delicious beverage that art had prepared.

From all this it may be imagined what alarm the report of a scarcity of water must create in an Eastern city. The Turks had yielded with dogged resignation to the pestilence that was walking in darkness, and to the destruction that was wasting at noon-day. But the sternest fatalism could not stand out against the new calamity that was impending, and as soon as the evil had become imminent, public measures were taken to avert it. It has indeed been a custom in all ages of Mohammedanism, founded, it is said, upon the precepts and practice of Mohammed himself, to observe a public season of humiliation and prayer in times of great national calamity. This has sometimes been done during the ravages of the plague, but is most common in seasons of severe drought. For this purpose an order of service has been instituted according to the prescriptions of the four great doctors of Islamism. It was not till long after the event which I am about to describe, that I supposed it to be any thing more than an extraordinary act of superstition. It had its foundation, however, in the Sunneh, while such surreptitious additions have been made to the original service as to furnish a happy illustration of the degeneracy of Islamism, in many re-

spects, from one of the most simple forms of worship to a body of gross and ignoble superstitions. The Sunneh prescribes that the assembly be in the open air, that there be no public prayer conducted by an Imam, but that each individual offer his own supplications apart, that the observance take place by order of the sovereign, and that Mussulmans only be allowed to join in it.

In the latter part of September, a royal order having been issued that prayer be publicly offered for relief from drought, fifty teachers of the common schools, followed by their pupils, repaired to the great meadow of of the *Kaät Khaneh*, or, as my readers will more readily remember it, the European valley of Sweet Waters. Having selected a large open plat, the whole company marched thrice round it in procession with an Imam at their head. The teachers then seated themselves upon the grass, with their respective pupils around them. Before each teacher were placed two small bags, one of which was empty, while the other was full of clean pebbles. The service commenced. Each one of the fifty took a pebble from the full bag, repeated over it a short prayer, and then breathing upon it three times, deposited it in the empty bag. This act was performed simultaneously by all, and at the close of each prayer the whole company of boys responded, AMEN. When the Imam found by computation that 72,000 prayers had been offered, he gave a signal for the ceremony to cease. The bags containing the pebbles over which prayers had been said, were then collected and emptied into one large leathern sack, the mouth of which was then closed, and the whole, with a rope attached to it, was thrown into the stream which runs through the meadow, there to remain till the intercession should prove effectual.

I have known a similar ceremony to be observed on a similar occasion by the Mussulmans of Georgia. It is one of those cases which serve to show how far Mohammedanism is from rigid simplicity and spirituality of worship. I shall have occasion to introduce other proofs to the reader. At present I will only add, that these forms of superstition have, for the most part, grown up in later centuries, and do not, therefore, belong to the original structure of the religion. They show, however, its corruption and weakness. They show, too, that with regard to the Christianity of the East, it is not the fact of its being corrupted by superstition, which renders it offensive in the eyes of Mussulmans, but that those superstitions are of a kind uncongenial with Mohammedan prejudices. As a people, the Christians are not more superstitious than the Mussulmans, nor are they less so. Superstition is, I believe, rather a defect of Oriental character than an appendage of any particular religion. It grows out of that fondness for the marvellous and the supernatural, which is a universal trait of Eastern mind, and is nourished, both among Christians and Mussulmans, by equally universal ignorance. Mohammedan learning, such as it is, is not of a character to dispel it, and in truth, no men are more credulous than learned Turks. The studies of the medresseh furnish no practical knowledge. They do not lay open nature to the observer. They do not show the supernatural reduced to laws. They occupy the mind with abstruse questions having no bearing upon the common relations or sciences of life. Their tendencies, therefore, are the worst possible. By withdrawing the student from the world around him, they prevent his acquisition of that practical wisdom which free intercourse with men affords, while they lead him darkling through the mists

of unprofitable controversies, like those which perplexed the European scholars of the middle ages.

From highest to lowest, therefore, Eastern minds are subject to the most childish superstitions. The observer finds nothing which indicates more clearly the extremely narrow range of their knowledge. Nor is he surprised to find religion also affected by what exerts so powerful an influence on the mind in the common occurrences of life. Hence, too, he sees how intimately in those lands the impartation of human knowledge must be associated with religious advancement.

But to return to our narrative. Autumn had now gone, and the delicious season which it brings with it at Constantinople, a season somewhat resembling our Indian summer, excepting only that it is even more mild and bland, had passed away. Still there were none of the signs of winter common in the same latitude in our own country at the same season of the year. The fields, which in the summer had been parched and arid, were assuming, under the influence of the autumnal rains, the fresh green hues of spring. Amidst these scenes of unequalled loveliness, the dreadful destroyer was wasting with relentless fury, and the air which was wafted from the gentle South and pressed the brow with a soft and balmy kiss, was burdened with the plague.

The Mohammedan year, whose divisions are conformed to the changes of the moon, was now waning into its ninth month, which is the same that the religion, apparently in imitation of the Christian Lent, has devoted to fasting and humiliation. Its authority resting on the positive precepts of the Koran, it is regarded as of divine obligation, and its observance is one of the most rigid and imperative of the duties of a good Musulman. The words in which it was ordained, run as

follows: "O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear God. A certain number of days shall ye fast; but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, shall fast an equal number of other days; and those who can keep it and do not, must redeem their neglect by maintaining a poor man. . . . . But if ye fast it shall be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of Ramazan shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from heaven, a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction between good and evil. Therefore, let him among you who shall be present (at home) in this month, fast the same month; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, shall fast the like number of other days. . . . . It is lawful for you on the night of the fast to . . . . . eat and drink until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread, by the day-break; then keep the fast until night; . . . . . and be constantly present in the places of worship. These are the prescribed bounds of God, therefore draw not near to transgress them."*

These commands are, by the great body of Mussulmans, rigorously obeyed. There is no point in the religion to which there is a more punctilious conformity. Instances are here and there found of individuals who wilfully and habitually violate it, but, unlike the infringement of some other laws of the religion, the violation is in secret. General opinion is in favour of the most rigid observance. The greater part carry it even into superstitious precision. To the multitude, the religious act consists in entire abstinence from food and temporal comforts. They refrain from the pipe and from exter-

* Koran, Sale's translation.

nal ablutions. They seal the senses aginst delightsome sights, and the odour of perfumes or viands. The fast is violated by a wistful look at food, by the inhaling of smoke and even by the swallowing of one's own spittle. The more devout, however, contemplate it in a more spiritual sense, and some of the manuals on practical religion, affirm that the fast is not complete without a withdrawal of the heart from licentious and worldly thoughts, and an absorption in holy and divine contemplation. Such hold it to be violated by impure or slanderous words, and all acknowledge it to be nullified by indulgence in earthly pleasures, though in themselves innocent.

There is even a *religious retreat*, to which some of the more devout consecrate certain days of the fast. This time is spent in the mosques. The devotee withdraws himself from every worldly occupation and care, seeks to dispel from his mind every earthly thought and to lose himself in prayer and holy meditation. Men of this character I have seen sitting in the mosques, with their eyes bent upon the floor, and apparently unconscious of the presence or movements of others around them. To the multitude, however, the season is the same as the fasts of the Churches are to the Christians; the duty and the merit consist in the abstinence from accustomed food. The principal difference is, that the Mussulmans abstain entirely, while the Christians abstain only from particular articles. The observance is equally superstitious in the two cases. Accordingly, the fasts of the Christians, and the same is true of their festivals, are by no means repugnant to Mohammedans, but, on the contrary, are almost universally respected. I have not only often heard them spoken of by Mussulmans with the utmost deference, but have heard a

Mussulman upbraiding a Christian for a violation of his fast. In travelling during Lent, I have seen Mussulmans subject themselves to inconvenience to avoid compelling Christian families to prepare food which they were unaccustomed to use at that season. During some of the Christian festivals, especially at Constantinople, the crowd of Mussulmans who join in the public diversions is hardly inferior to that of the Christians. The Easter feast is particularly well-known to the Turks. They speak of it as the Christian *Bairam*, corresponding to their own festival so called, which follows close upon Ramazan.

These pleasant parallels might be pursued much farther. They will re-appear, however, at other points in our progress. For the present, I will only remark, that they confirm what has already been said, that Islamism is not on all points opposed to Christianity, not even to its superstitions. When they are similar to its own, they are approved; it is only when they differ, that they are opposed. Mohammedanism is sometimes supposed to be a purely spiritual religion. The supposition, I believe, to be contrary to truth. In some points it is more spiritual than the present Christianity of the East. But it has superstitions of its own which Oriental Christianity has not, and these superstitions are as gross and as deeply fixed as any which pollute the Church. The proofs of this position will accumulate as we advance.

Still these points of resemblance which have been noticed, must be regarded as indications of good. They are not only moral links which sustain union and check prejudice, they are, if I may so speak, parallel openings in the two religions, by which Christianity, when once purified, will transmit her heavenly and renovating in-

fluence into the corrupted mass of Islamism. If the day of this influence may be hastened by any foreign mediation, it will be hastened most effectually by a Church, which, presenting the same points of resemblance, can present them free from corruption, which acknowledges, in a purely religious sense, an annual fast and feast, and keeps a spiritual Ramazan and Bairam to the Lord.

The rigidity of old customs in the East, especially when sanctioned by religion, is well illustrated by the mode in which the commencement of the fast is announced. Although the Turks have Almanacs in which the changes of the moon are accurately calculated, they do not trust to them for information respecting the new moon of Ramazan. It is required that the orb itself be seen by two witnesses, if the sky be clear. If it be obscured by clouds, the testimony of a single man will suffice. At Constantinople the witness is brought before the *Sheikh ul Islam*, (Chief of Islam,) by whom his testimony is received, and an order for the opening of the fast immediately issued. I have heard it reported, however, that the confidence of the learned in the testimony of the Almanac, is so great, that if the moon does not appear at the time therein named, witnesses are suborned to testify that they have seen the luminary, and the fast is sure to begin at the canonical moment. For the truth of this report, I will not affirm. It is certain, however, that a vigilant watch is kept upon the sky at the time when the new moon is expected to appear. As soon as it is perceived in one place, the news is spread through the adjacent country. It often happens, however, that there will occur a difference of one or two days in the commencement of the fast at places remote from each other. The

duration, however, is the same. It terminates with the appearance of the new moon of the succeeding month. As the first day of that month is appointed for the festival of Bairam, its commencement must be attested in the same manner as that of Ramazan, unless the new moon of the latter month should have been clearly seen, in which case it is sufficient to reckon the date of the Bairam from it.

The law requires that if the whole fast shall not have been kept in its proper season, whether from the non-appearance of the moon, from sickness, from being on a journey or from other necessary causes, the deficiency must be made up at another time. If the fast is wilfully violated, the Koran requires that expiation be made by alms to the poor, to which the Sunneh has added the severer penalty of a fast of sixty-one days during some other season of the year. This law is doubtless observed by some among the more learned and devout, but the mass of the people know nothing of such restrictions and penalties. To study the religion aright, it is necessary, indeed, to make a distinction between it as it exists among the learned and as it is found among the multitude. Among the former, it appears involved in an endless maze of petty usages and casuistical distinctions, which it would seem utterly impossible for any human memory to retain. Among the latter, it appears in the rigid simplicity of a single article of faith and a few religious observances. It is by this last quality that it maintains so easily its hold upon the minds of the many. A child learns at home or from his teacher to repeat his creed and to enumerate the five duties required of him as a Mussulman. He is shown how to perform his ablutions before prayers. He imbibes the spirit of his religion from its manifestation in the society of his own

people, and gathers some superficial knowledge of its ceremonial from the vague information which is floating through the community. With this he contents himself, unless he becomes a student. He violates unconsciously numerous laws of the Sunneh. He keeps his fast till Bairam comes, but he seldom repairs delinquencies, whether for sickness, for travelling, or for the shortness of his Ramazan. Children are not required to keep the fast until, at least, they have made profession of their faith by circumcision, nor in certain situations, is it binding upon women.

About the middle of the afternoon of the 8th of December, the approach of the Ramazan was announced by a furious cannonade from the ships lying at their winter moorings in the harbour. It was intended as a warning to all good Mussulmans to prepare for the fast, though the mode of the announcement seemed hardly compatible with the solemn nature of the object. At sunset the first day commenced, and the season of the fast was ushered in with the discharge of cannon and the roll of drums. The fast itself, however, was not to begin till the next day. The first hours belonging to the night were, according to the prescription of the Koran, to be devoted to a very different purpose from humiliation. Nothing, indeed, could be farther from the gloom and sadness which are the outward indications of fasting, than this introduction of the Ramazan. Before the last rays of twilight had faded from the sky, every minaret was glittering with bands of lamps, but as festivity was not quickened by previous abstinence, no other signs of rejoicing appeared. The next morning at early dawn the fast begun.

The manner in which the tedious hours of the day are spent during this month of contrition, may be de-

scribed in a word. The labourer and mechanic go from necessity to their accustomed work. The bazars are open and business continues, though not with its wonted activity and vigour. New undertakings are not commenced. The exhausting effects of the fast and the nature of the season repress secular activity and enterprise. All make it, as far as circumstances permit a time of physical inaction. The more devout spend much of it in the mosque, or in reading the Koran at home. Many, who are too scrupulous to violate their fast, but not sufficiently serious to turn it to any good purpose, satisfy both their conscience and their love of ease by losing most of the day in sleep. Wakefulness returns with the night, while abstinence and sleep have prepared them to make a generous use of the nocturnal indulgence granted by their prophet. By this happy device not only is the rigour of the fast alleviated, but Lent turned into Carnival. Even without such an evasion, the fast is not difficult to be endured, while it falls, as on the year now mentioned, in the winter. But the Mohammedan months being lunar, each one runs through all the seasons in thirty-three years. While Ramazan occurs in summer, the fast becomes extremely painful, especially for the poor labourer, who toils from morning till night, without so much as a drop of water to cool his tongue. Such a scene excites pity, even in the winter. I remember, in one instance, having hired a caïque, with two rowers, to visit a village several miles distant from the city. The whole day was consumed in the excursion, and it was evident that we could not reach the city before nightfall. The boatmen, therefore, provided themselves at the village, with a jug of water and two or three loaves of bread, which they laid carefully away in the boat. We were still several miles distant, when

a gun from the Seven Towers, followed immediately by the cries of hundreds of Muezzins from the minarets of the city, announced the termination of the fast. The boatmen who, though apparently quite exhausted, had tugged at their oars with a patience that no one, in such circumstances, knows better how to exhibit than a Turk, now rested upon their seats, and prepared to break their fast. With no other expression of emotion than a placid exclamation of joy, as the voice of the Muezzin rolled along the water, they ate and drank just sufficient to allay the pain of abstinence, and then resumed their oars.

In the city, also, the hour of sunset is the most interesting of the day. As the sun declines the whole Mussulman population seems suddenly to awaken. The cafés, which, during the day, are abandoned to the Christians, begin to be filled with Turks, who may be seen sitting with their tchibouks in their hands, silently awaiting the sound of the evening gun. The streets, in their own quarters, are thronged with them hurrying in every direction with unusual alacrity of movement. The bakehouses are beset with customers. The confectionaries, arranged and decorated with extraordinary care, display their choicest delicacies. A multitude of eager inquirers are gathered before the windows of the little apartments connected with many of the mosques, in which clocks are set exactly indicating the hour. Neighbour is seen gathering the same information from his neighbour. The harbour, as indeed is usual at this hour, is thronged with hundreds of caïques, shooting towards every landing-place along the Golden Horn. All this movement is without noise. It is only when the suspense is broken by the distant roar of the sunset gun, that tongues are unloosed. And even then, there is no

clamour or vociferation. Approaching by water at the moment, one hears no other sound of festivity than a busy hum rising from the rejoicing city.

As the twilight deepens the illumination begins. For this purpose preparations are made before the commencement of the fast, by suspending cords between the minarets of the mosques. Upon these cords figures, formed by lamps arranged in various shapes, are let out. These, however, appear only on particular nights. The common illumination consists in nothing more than rows of lamps around the little galleries of the minarets, from which the Muezzin calls to prayers. The 21st of December, or rather the 13th of Ramazan, was the birth-day of the Sultan. The solemn stillness of the fast was broken at each hour of prayer, during the day, by the roar of cannon, and at night the whole city presented a gayer scene of rejoicing than had before appeared. Every ship in the fleet was gorgeously illuminated by lights at the port-holes and along the rigging. In front of the *Admiralty* were displayed illuminations in the form of anchors, vessels, and other shapes appertaining to sea-craft. Along the bridge which had lately been thrown across the harbour, were lines of lamps which produced a singular and most brilliant effect when viewed from the water. Between the minarets of the mosques, were swinging glittering forms of various descriptions. Here a huge crescent; there, among the noble spires of the Sulimanièh, the words YA OSMAN, O Osman, in characters of monstrous size; on the beautiful temple built by the Sultan, a barge formed by lights of different colours, and of the same shape and size with that which ordinarily conveyed his majesty.

But all this splendour was eclipsed by the magnificence of the Bosphorus. Along both its banks, through

the greater part of its whole length from the city to the Black Sea, palaces, *kïoshks*, cafés and private dwellings were bathed in glorious effulgence. The whole appeared like one immense spectacle, and it seemed at the moment, the very fulfilment of some early dream of Oriental magnificence. The effect of every part was heightened by the excessive darkness of the night. The rows of lamps around the minarets, seemed to hang like golden bands against the sky. The figures swinging above the mosques, appeared as if resting unsustained in mid-air. The brilliant line of the bridge and the glittering shapes of the frigates seemed, while the objects themselves were hidden, like the work of enchantment. The streets were also lighted, though more sparingly. The cafés were thronged. In some, story-tellers were amusing the crowd. In others, music, though, like its sister art, forbidden by the harsh law of Islamism, was beguiling the hours of the night. A rare favour was granted to the population on this anniversary of the Sultan's birth. The streets were open throughout the night, and I availed myself of this unwonted act of royal benignity to spend the greater part of it amidst the scenes that I have described.

On all the nights of Ramazan, the principal streets were dimly lighted and the interior of the mosques brilliantly illuminated. The Mohammedan liturgy contains a special service for Ramazan, which is performed by night in the mosques. The night of the 27th of Ramazan, which fell that year on January 3, 1837, is distinguished from all the others, as that on which the first leaves of the Koran are supposed, (for it is an unsettled question among Mohammedan Doctors,) to have descended to earth. It is called, therefore, *Leïleh el Kadr*, or the Night of Power, and, from its occurrence

during Ramazan, it is supposed that Mohammed selected this month for the fast. In the present instance, it was celebrated with considerable display of the same kind, but far less in degree than the monarch thought his own introduction into the world worthy of.

This splendid season of humiliation closed at sunset on the 7th of January, when the first day of the tenth month, the month of Shaval, begun. The approach of the feast was announced as the fast had been, by the discharge of cannon several hours before evening. From this moment universal joy began to prevail. The spacious courts of the imperial mosques were thronged with crowds of Mussulmans in greater agitation than I had ever before seen a Turkish assemblage. Urchins were running in every direction, crying *Bairam*, *Bairam*, with as merry a voice and face as lads of our Western world exhibit when just released from the imprisonment of the school-room. The poor were enforcing their appeals for charity by the magic word *Bairam*—one, doubtless, of tried potency in opening hearts and purses. The joy had become so rife before sunset, that the fast might have ended without any apparent increase of it, had not such an unworthy termination been prevented by the terrific roar which burst from all the ships of war, and was answered from Seraglio Point and the opposite shore of Scutari. For many minutes it continued with a fury that shook the city to its foundations. The echo, repeated in quick succession from side to side, as the sound traced the windings of the harbour, and its hollow reverberations, as it died among the distant mountains of Asia, vied with the thunders of Heaven. As they subsided, the worshippers were seen entering the temples of prayer. The multitude who were pressing for admission seemed almost countless, for there is no hour so full

of joy to a Mussulman's heart as the hour of prayer on Bairam Even.

There remains only to be added that the fast of Ramazan is the only one required by the Mohammedan law. Others, however, are permitted. Monday and Thursday of each week, the last ten days of each month, the whole of the three months Zilkideh, Zilhijjeh and Muharrem, are particularly recommended, but very seldom observed. Voluntary fasts are sometimes performed in fulfilment of vows, and satisfactory or expiatory fasts are required when that of Ramazan has been violated either from necessity or wilfully. Those so disposed may, indeed, devote to fasting any season or portion of the year, provided, however, in the case of married women, that they have the permission of their husbands, and excepting, both for men and women, the appointed times of the great feasts, when fasting is positively forbidden.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

MOHAMMEDAN FEASTS — TURKISH PASSOVER — THE FEAST OF SACRIFICE — PROCESSION AND PUBLIC SERVICES — FESTIVITIES — EFFECT OF THE FAST AND FEAST ON MOHAMMEDANS — CHRISTIANITY INSULTED — MOSQUES — THOSE OF TURKEY AND PERSIA DESCRIBED AND COMPARED — DIFFERENT CLASSES OF MOSQUES — MANY OF THEM ORIGINALLY CHURCHES — ST. SOPHIA, THE MODEL — THE MINARETS — THE EXTERIOR — THE INTERIOR — STRUCTURE OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES — CANDLES — ORNAMENTS — THE PULPIT — PREACHING — IMPRESSIVE FEATURE OF ISLAMISM.

THE Mohammedan feasts are not, like the fast, of divine obligation. No mention is made of them in the Koran, excepting the institution of the sacrifice which accompanies the second, and which forms the principal part of the ceremonies during the great pilgrimage to Mecca. They are passed unnoticed in the catechism. We may, therefore, without danger of offence, leave them with a cursory glance. They occur, as I have said, on the first day of the tenth, and on the tenth day of the last month of the Mohammedan year, on the first day of Shaval and the tenth of Zilhijjeh. The first is called by the Turks *Idi fetr*, The Feast of Fast-breaking, and more commonly *Kutchuk Bairam*, Little Bairam. The second, which falls seventy days after the first, is the *Idi Azha*, Feast of Sacrifice, *Buyuk Bairam*, Great Bairam, or, more commonly, *Kourban Bairam*, which signifies, in Turkish, the same as *Idi Azha* in Arabic.

The principal religious ceremony by which these feasts are distinguished is the prayer of the first morning,

(for the first feast continues three and the second four days,) when larger congregations are assembled in the mosques than on any other occasion throughout the year. At both these services the Sultan is present, accompanied by the principal officers of his government and surrounded by a display of regal pomp and splendour seldom witnessed even in the proudest city of the East. The scene at the two is so nearly the same that a description of one will suffice for both. I choose that of the *Kourban Bairam* because it is superior to the other, both in the estimation in which it is held by Mussulmans, and in the display with which it is celebrated. The other is sometimes called the Turkish Passover from its contiguity to the fast; but the name is more applicable to the second, which we are about to describe, because at that time a sacrifice is actually offered immediately after the prayer of the morning. This corresponds most nearly with the Good Friday of the Church, and the similitude may be made in the hands of a skilful missionary the means of turning the thoughts of Mussulmans from their own unmeaning ceremony to the great sacrifice of Christianity.

Once for all, let me beg my reader's indulgence for these frequent diversions from the thread of my narrative. He will, perchance, bear them more patiently, if he keeps in mind that they are necessary to my design, that my first aim is to inform, not to amuse, and that in reading, as in every worthy employment, the highest and almost the only value of amusement is to relieve the mind and prepare it for graver pursuits. If my gentle reader will remember this, I see not what should prevent us from travelling on quietly and happily together to the end of our journey. With this fair understanding, we resume our narrative where we left it, and in the words

of the record made immediately after the event had transpired.

Saturday, March 18, 1839. The grand procession of the paschal orison took place this morning within the time prescribed by the Mohammedan law, which permits its celebration at any hour before noon on the tenth of the month Zilhijjeh. It issued from the principal gate of the Seraglio, soon after sunrise, and appeared in the following order. First came the inferior officers of the court on horse, followed by the pashas and principal functionaries of state mounted on beautiful steeds, whose furniture was richly decked with precious stones. After these, came a band of young men on foot, gaily dressed in lively colours and distinguished by their beauty and knightly bearing. They bore in their hands long waving plumes of the most brilliant hues, which they held high over their heads, as if to secure the royal person whom they surrounded, from the vulgar gaze. In the midst of this bright band, his face just discernable through the forest of bending plumes, rode the Sultan, on a noble Arabian charger, which, from his proud and graceful step, seemed conscious that he was bearing the weight of majesty. His saddle-cloth and reins were thickly studded with diamonds set in flowers, the stirrups were of solid gold, and his gorgeous headpiece bore a frontlet, in the centre of which was a magnificent emerald surrounded with diamonds. The Sultan himself appeared, as he always does on horse, with his most regal look and bearing. His face wore that grave and mild aspect that commonly sits upon it in public. After him followed a band of musicians who closed the procession. The whole body moved slowly towards the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, in the vicinity of the Seraglio, between double ranks of artillery-men and musicians.

A shout ran along their lines as the Sultan passed. They all wore European military caps, and their entire dress was conformable. The habiliments of the marines were red jackets and white pantaloons, which, with the caps, were entirely new. The latter, indeed, were now introduced into the army for the first time, the common head-gear of the soldiers being the thick woollen *fez* with a huge blue silk tassel pendent behind,—the same as is worn by the Sultan and the greater part of those in civil employ, but which, with the unshorn heads that are coming into vogue, are, (this my own experience afterwards taught me,) insupportable on a summer-march.

The Sultan and his cortége dismounted in the Atmeidan, a public square on which the spacious court of the mosque of Ahmed opens, and entered the sacred temple. The morning service immediately began, while another assemblage was formed in the Atmeidan, of the soldiers from the adjacent barracks; for the companies that had served in the pageant of the morning, contrary to many a precept of the Koran, stood by their arms. The service without the mosque was the same as that within. A temporary platform was erected for the Imam, and straw mats were spread for the assembly to kneel upon.*

* These devotions in the open air, were converted into a theme of panegyric upon the Sultan in a number of the official gazette, issued soon after. "His Highness," it said, "who attaches the highest importance to the faithful acquittal of the duties of religion by all Mussulmans, repeated on this occasion the order which he had given for the fast of Shaval, to see that the army did not fail in the accustomed devotions of the festival. A great part of the troops, therefore, were sent into the vast court of the mosques of Sultan Ahmed."* If the Sultan's motives were such as here described, it is matter for surprise that his good intention did not extend to the soldiers on duty. The truth, doubtless, was, that the editor of the official paper knew enough of the duties of his station to study effect in his paragraphs.

* Le Moniteur Ottoman, April 30, 1837. (Muharrem 22, A. H. 1253.)

I could not, at the moment, discover any thing in the various prostrations, genuflections, and divers other postures of the worshippers different from the common devotions of the mosque, nor indeed is there any thing peculiar in this distinguished service of the Mussulman liturgy more than some slight deviations of form from the great prayer of Friday.

So much of the ample space of the Atmeidan as was not occupied by the worshippers, was filled with throngs of Turkish maids and matrons, on foot and in arabas, idle spectators of a ceremony of their religion in which they could not participate.

The service, which was but little longer than the ordinary service of the morning, being ended, the procession returned in the order in which it came and disappeared within the walls of the Seraglio. What transpired there I will not pretend to say, excepting that an order soon came out for the marines to enter, and the rumour was circulated among the multitude that the Sultan had sent for them to inspect them in their new dress. They entered, preceded by the band playing a Greek air. Presently a line of cavalry issued from the gate, well-mounted and wearing the new cap. As I was crossing the harbour on my return home, I observed that the ships of war were decorated with flags and their yards manned with marines, who saluted the Sultan as the royal barge shot out from the quay of the Seraglio and swept by them on its way to the palace of Beshiktash.

Such was the pageant which accompanied the sacrificial prayer of Bairam. But the festivity which followed was not confined to the court. It extended to every class and condition of society. On the first day the Call to prayer at the five canonical hours was followed by a salute from the fleet. During the whole of the first feast

and the first three days of the second, shops were shut and all labour suspended. The entire Mussulman population was poured into the streets. The cafés were thronged. Every man, woman and child appeared in a new dress. The white turbans were never so clean and neatly plaited. Turkish females, in groups of five or six, with their children, in the gayest and richest dresses, strolled through the streets. Friends visited friends and wished them a happy Bairam, or embraced them as they met without, kissing each other on both cheeks. The inferior paid the same deference to the hand of his patron or superior. Effendis on horseback and ladies in arabas covered the bridge between Stamboul and Galata. Strolling players performed with impunity in the highways. The sellers of sweetmeats proclaimed their delicacies and the beggars again plied their importunities in the name of *Bairam*. There seemed in the very word an incentive to mirth and light-heartedness. Yet all was quiet. There was no boisterousness, no indecorum, no extravagant merriment, no loud laughter, much less those contentions, and babblings, and wounds without cause, which are the invariable accompaniments of our more civilized festivities. The reason of the difference is to be found in the habitual moderation and self-command of Turks, and in the absence among them of the grand source of the wo and sorrow which generally follow our own seasons of hilarity. Special care is exercised by the Turkish authorities during Bairam to keep Mussulmans from the grog-shops, which, I am sorry to add, are chiefly tenanted by Christians. The only part of the population which give free vent to their mirth are the boys. You may see them riding double on donkeys, racing on horses, or turning on swings, of which there are at least four kinds in use at Constantinople. You

may see them playing and tumbling in the courts of the mosques, firing crackers and eating sweetmeats, as New-England boys do on the Fourth of July. By some, certain hours of the festival are devoted to more serious purposes. The bereaved visit the graves of friends and sit by them and turn up the sod throughout, as if the sight of the new earth brought into fresh recollection the hour when the loved ones that repose beneath, were shut from their eyes.

Another feature of the Bairams is too strongly indicative of the present spirit of Islamism to be omitted. A Turk is never more a Mussulman than during his feasts and fast. He seems then to be recalled to himself and his religion. However negligent in his devotions he may be through the rest of the year, he seldom, if ever, neglects the extraordinary services which these seasons bring with them, or remains unaffected by the spirit which everywhere prevails. If he has formed acquaintance with unbelieving Franks, he is apt, at these times, to keep aloof from them. If he is a bigoted Mussulman, his bigotry is deepened. An old and respectable Christian of Constantinople informed me that until within a few years antecedent to the time of which I write, Christians always felt themselves in jeopardy during the Ramazan and Bairams, and went as seldom as possible into the streets. Those times, every one knows, are changed. But indications of what the past has been, still remain and are visible whenever the same occasion calls them forth.

On the morning of the paschal procession, after the public prayer was ended, it belonged to the soldiers to carry back the mats which had served them in their devotions, to the place whence they were taken. Instead, however, of performing the labour themselves, they dis-

persed through the crowds, and singling out the *rayahs** who happened to be there, compelled them to take the mats upon their shoulders and bear them for them. The Greeks, whose buoyancy of spirit nothing can repress, made sport of it. The timorous and cringing Jews tamely submitted to the indignity in silence. A soldier followed each one to keep him from deserting his burden, now and then administering a kick when he halted or ventured to remonstrate. I saw only one Armenian seized. He was a young man of respectable appearance, and refused, when arrested, to perform the scandalous task. Immediately some twenty soldiers set upon him and attempted to beat him into submission. He resisted manfully for a few minutes, while they, standing in a circle around him, kicked him from side to side like a foot-ball. He offered to hire a porter, to carry the burden, but they persisted in imposing the contumely upon him. Some Armenians sitting in a café near at hand, looked upon the scene in evident consternation, and soon began to slip off in another direction. At this moment I approached the soldiers with an American friend, who had been with me through all the scenes of the morning. As we came up they desisted, and, had we been able to expostulate with them in their own tongue, the Armenian might easily have been rescued. But when they found that we had no power to interpose, they recommenced their assault, and succeeded at length in imposing the ignominy on the young man, who walked away under his burden, sobbing with shame and vexation. We knew that the insult was forced upon him because he was a Christian. I witnessed other scenes of a similar kind during the following days of the festival. They

* Subjects of the Sultan not Mussulman.

filled me with the deepest indignation, but the oppression of rayahs became afterwards so familiar a sight to me, that the first effects gradually ceased. It is only now, when looking back upon those scenes from the favoured home of Christianity, that I feel a return of the first glow of indignation, and mourn, as I then sincerely mourned, over the desolate heritage of Zion in the lands where she held her earliest and broadest sway.

No traveller leaves Constantinople without visiting its mosques, the proudest monuments of the religion throughout the East. I shall not describe them, as others have done, individually, but embrace them in one general view with mosques in other parts of the country, and in comparison with those of Persia. I shall thus save myself the trouble, and my readers the tediousness, of repeated descriptions in every city and town through which we may have to pass.

The mosques of Turkey are of two kinds, distinguished by the names of *Jami* and *Mesjid*, which correspond, in some respects, with the terms *Church* and *Chapel*. The latter are small and often without minarets. In the cities they are interspersed among the larger mosques for the accommodation of the neighbourhood in which they stand. They are also to be found in every village, and, for the most part, are the only places of worship which the villages can boast. They are designed only for the ordinary devotions of the mosque, and generally have only one minister, who sometimes exercises the double office of Imam and Sheikh, or, in more familiar terms, of the priest at the altar and the preacher. The chief distinction between the *Jami* and the *Mesjid*, however, is that the noon-prayer of Friday cannot be offered in the latter. The people are then required

to repair to the larger mosques, because that this is the day of the general assemblage of Mussulmans, and the Jami is the place particularly devoted to that worship. The same distinction is made in Persia as in Turkey, excepting only that, in the common parlance of the Persians, Mesjid is used generically for both kinds, like our term *Mosque*, which is undoubtedly derived from it.

The *Jamis* of Turkey are also of two kinds, those that are built by Sultans, or members of the Royal family, and all others entitled to the name. This distinction, however, is one of convenience merely. The former are superior only in their endowments and the enjoyment of certain royal favours. In point of religious privileges they are the same. The royal mosques of Constantinople are about fifteen in number, the first of all being St. Sophia, (*Aya Sofia.*) In all the rest of the Empire there are probably as many more. The principal that I have visited are those of Sultan Selim, at Adrianople, which is the most magnificent mosque in Turkey built by Mussulmans, of Bayazid in Broussa, of Mourad in Manisa, and Bayazid in Amasieh. The Shahs of Persia have been less liberal or less devout than the Sultans of Turkey. Some of the principal cities, as will be noted when we enter them, have one or two mosques of this character, but they are in no respect superior to some others erected by private liberality.

There is nothing which more strikingly exhibits the degraded condition of Christianity in the East, than the fact that many of the mosques were originally Christian Churches. I seldom made the inquiry in any city or large town of Turkey where I did not find at least one, and in some instances, where the traditionary recollection of the change had quite departed, their ancient

character was discernible by certain marks, such as the form of the building or traces of pictures partly effaced. In Persia I did not meet with a single instance of such a desecration. History explains the difference. War has there wrought greater revolutions than in Turkey; and if farther explanation be needed, the different character of the structures in the two countries completes the solution. The temples of worship in Turkey are generally of stone, those in Persia of earth. The Persian churches of the early centuries must have long since crumbled to dust. Those of Turkey still stand. Many of them bear, in their indelible forms, the impress of Christianity; and who shall say that their violated altars shall not rise again, that the Shekinah shall never return to overshadow their mercy-seats, or that their walls shall no more re-echo the anthems of the ancient Faithful?

The mosques of Turkey are almost uniformly of stone and painted white. In some parts of Mesopotamia, where rock is not easily procured, and in many of the villages, they are of earth. They are generally built on one model in every part of the country from Bagdad to the Danube, and the originals of that model were probably the old Christian churches. In the style of architecture St. Sophia is the pattern of almost every mosque in the land. The Great Mosque of Bayazid, in Broussa, exhibits the widest departure from this model that I have seen. It has twenty domes of equal dimensions springing from the same level, and sustained by twelve huge columns. The central dome is open, and the sweet light of heaven streaming through it upon the sparkling fountain beneath and among the vast pillars of the interior, produces on the imagination an effect fit-

ted to excite in the breast of the approaching worshipper the higher feelings of reverence and love.

To a stranger the most remarkable feature of a Turkish mosque is the minaret. These vary in number from one to four. The mosque of Sultan Ahmed in Constantinople, has six, and this is the only instance that I know in the kingdom, where the number exceeds four. Springing from a square base without the mosque, they rise in one white, straight, cylindrical shaft into the heavens. The evenness of their surface is interrupted only by the little gallery from which the Muezzin calls to prayer. There are sometimes two of these galleries, sometimes even three. They are little projections of about eighteen inches from the side of the minaret, with a parapet of stone on the outer edge, from four to five feet high. They relieve the uniformity and thus add to the beauty of the minaret: Above them the spire tapers to a point, on which is fixed the gilded crescent. The Muezzin ascends by a winding stair-way in the interior. Almost his only occupation is to mount five times a day and repeat the Call to Prayer, but as the passage is long, narrow, steep, dark, and sometimes offensive to the smell, the office is by no means a sinecure. The Persian mosques are almost uniformly destitute of this beautiful appendage. Only three or four in the cities that I visited, have minarets, which are of brick, and covered with tile of variegated colours. They rise from the roof of the mosque, and never to a grate height. They are intended only for ornament, and are never, I believe, used for the same purpose as in Turkey, the Call to Prayer in a Persian mosque being given from the roof.

The Turkish mosques have generally a court in front, surrounded by a stone wall, with grated windows

in it, or, as is true of some of the Imperial mosques, with a colonnade supported by small marble pillars. In the centre of the courts of the larger mosques there is a covered fountain or reservoir, where the water is received into a circular tank of stone and let out by cocks near the ground. At these fountains the ablutions preparatory to prayers are performed. Instead of a fountain the country mosques are provided with a pipe enclosed within the wall of the court, from which, also, the water is emitted by cocks. Instead of the wall one side or more of the court is often occupied by the medresseh. Especially is this true of the mosques in the interior. In the royal mosques of Constantinople the medressehs are generally extensive ranges of low buildings just without the court. They are sometimes, however, entirely disconnected, and at a considerable distance from any mosque. I have particularly observed this at Bagdad, where it is evidently a remnant of the custom of the earlier ages of Mohammedanism, when medressehs often rose on independent foundations, and, instead of being the mean and unsightly edifices they now are, were master-works of the art of those times.

The Persian mosques are, in their exterior, entirely unlike those of Turkey. Instead of being always the most conspicuous objects in a city, the passenger may often pass them without observing them. In repeated instances, I have listened to a Muezzin pronouncing the Call within a few rods of me, without being able to discover where the mosque was. They sometimes open immediately upon the street, and present the same low, bare, mud-wall with other buildings. The interior, in these cases, is corresponding, a low, though spacious apartment, with a level ceiling supported on plain pillars, he whole without ornament or pretensions of any kind.

I have seen others, connected with large medressehs, in the form of a long and narrow apartment. In these instances, the mosque belongs to the medresseh, rather than the medresseh to the mosque, the latter being no more than the chapel of the college.

These medressehs of Persia are very far superior to any edifice of the kind to be seen in Turkey. In their general appearance they resemble the temple of Mecca. They are quadrilateral buildings erected round a large court, which is paved and adorned with trees, and has in or near the centre a clear pool of water several feet in depth. In the middle of each side of the building is a deep alcove opening upon the court, surmounted by a half dome and ornamented within with party-coloured tile. A dome of this kind is sometimes to be found in the Turkish medressehs, and the vacant area beneath is used for a summer lecture-room. The rest of the edifice, in a Persian medresseh, is low, and is occupied by the college-rooms and the apartment for public prayers, which, in those that I have minutely examined, was of the character just described—a long, open room with an arched roof or with a flat one supported by brick pillars.

The interior of a Persian mosque is simplicity itself. A stone in the wall indicates the direction towards which the worshipper must turn in prayer. There is no pulpit or furniture of any kind, excepting a straw mat and a small seat for the preacher. There are no decorations, often not even an inscription on the walls.

The interior of a Turkish mosque, though simple in comparison with our own sacred edifices, is rich and gaudy when contrasted with the Persian chapels. It is one spacious and lofty apartment, surmounted by a broad and high dome, which in its turn is supported by large

columns, in most cases of stone or brick. In many mosques of ordinary size there are no columns, and the whole apartment is embraced at a single glance. The walls are white and generally without any other decorations than the names of God, Mohammed and the first four caliphs, and these interspersed with sentences from the Koran. In one or two mosques I have seen the walls fantastically painted in what seemed intended to be an imitation of marble. The St. Sophia is the only one, probably, in the empire, which bears a distinct representation of living creatures. Just without the dome of this magnificent temple are two figures, left there at the general demolition of the pictures and images of the church after the capture of the city. They may have escaped the notice of the purifiers of the place from their want of determinate resemblance to any known being or thing. They appear somewhat like six leaves standing out from one centre. I know not the ground of the general belief that they are representations of the seraphims described by Isaiah,* and that the resemblances of leaves are the six wings, two covering the face, two covering the feet, and two sustaining the flight.

Though every thing that might tempt to idolatry is thus excluded from the Turkish temples with a rigidness that rivals the strictness of the Jewish laws in this particular, representations of the temple of Mecca, both painted and in wood, are sometimes to be seen. The internal arrangement of the mosques is simple throughout. Opposite the principal entrance is the *Mihrab*, or Imam's station. It is a niche in the wall, similar to those sometimes made for statues in the walls of dwelling-houses in this country. Before this the Imam stands,

* Chap. vi. 2.

while conducting the public devotions, with his face towards the wall. In this position he looks towards Mecca, while the worshippers arrange themselves in straight lines behind him. Sometimes the niche is in the depth of a large alcove or recess, like those seen in many of our own churches. This is uniformly true of those mosques which were formerly Christian temples, a circumstance which indicates something respecting the structure of the ancient churches.

Another item of information upon the same subject may be gathered from Turkish mosques of the character now described. They are so situated that in looking towards the alcove, or place of the altar, the regards of the worshipper are turned to the East. The circumstance indicates that it was the custom of the early Christians to pray in that direction, and that such was the fact is abundantly attested by the fathers. "Let prayers be made towards the East," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "because the East is the representation of our spiritual nativity."* In mosques of this description the Imam is compelled to turn himself a little to one side in order to look towards his own Keblah. In one instance I have seen the Imam's niche cut in the wall a little aside from the middle of the alcove, in order to correct the slight inaccuracy of the bearing.

On either side of the Mihrab generally stands a row of huge candles, each one being from six to eighteen inches in diameter, and, in the candlestick, eight and even twelve feet high. These candles are lighted only in the night, and in many of the country mosques only on the evenings of Ramazan. Besides these, which are, like the candles burned in the churches, gifts of religious

* King's Primitive Church, p. 167.

charity, there are numerous lamps suspended from the lofty ceiling by long cords or wires, and hanging at about the same height from the floor with the chandeliers of our churches. They are commonly glass cups partly filled with water and partly with oil, and, being generally hung in concentric circles throughout the apartment, produce, when lighted, a singular effect. Interspersed among them are globular forms of wood, or shells of ostrich eggs, or other rude and simple ornaments.

Standing in the centre of the building, with his face towards the Mihrab, the spectator sees on the left of it a platform elevated a few steps above the floor. This is the common pulpit where the Sheikh sits and addresses the congregation after prayers. The frequency of these discourses and their subjects are at the option of the preacher. I was present in St. Sophia on one occasion, during the noon prayers, when this discourse was delivered. The Sheikh, a venerable man with a grey beard, took his seat on the platform immediately after the devotions were ended. Most of the congregation remained and gathered around him, some sitting, others standing, and all, like the preacher, retaining, as is customary in Mussulman worship, their turbans. He spoke about fifteen minutes with great earnestness. That portion of the service peculiar to the noon-prayer of Friday is delivered by a minister, called *Khatib*, specially devoted to this duty. It has also a pulpit for itself, which the spectator sees on the right of the Mihrab. A flight of stairs ascend from the body of the mosque and terminate in a landing-place against the wall. The steps are about twenty in number, and are protected on either side by a balustrade which is sometimes of marble beautifully wrought in open work. The minister stands on the landing-place in full view, and pronounces the office pe-

culiar to the occasion. Besides this, there is a square platform in the body of the mosque elevated from eight to ten feet above the floor, where the Muezzins, who in the large mosques are several in number, and who have a certain part to perform in the services, are stationed. The rest of the floor is clear, (for there are no pews, benches or seats of any kind,) and is covered with carpets or mats. In the city mosques, it is kept scrupulously clean. The Mussulman leaves his shoes at the door, or carries them in his hand, and enters in his slippers. In different parts of the mosque are often seen little frames in the form of the letter X, in which Korans are lying for the use of those who wish to read them at other times.

It is only a small portion of the mosques which have all the parts that I have now described. Many, in the country especially, have nothing besides the Mihrab. All, however, are entitled to the same privileges. In any mosque or chapel the Khatib's pulpit may be raised, a Khatib appointed, and the full service of Friday performed there. This, however, is rarely to be found, except in the royal mosques, and in the large ones of the second class. The villages are commonly provided with a chapel only, and the offices of Imam, Sheikh and Muezzin are vested in the same person. Still the equality of rights between the humblest mesjid and the proudest temple of religion in the land, is both an indication and a consequence of the equalizing temper of Islamism. In a country where the limits of rank are most rigidly defined, it excludes them from its own spiritual domain. The lowliest member of the community kneels side by side in the sanctuary, with the richest and the most powerful. There are no inferiors before God. There are no mosques for exclusive portions of society. The humbles

menial may, if he please, worship daily in those magnificent temples built by royal patronage. He may stand in the front rank of worshippers and feel, without pride, that while he stands there, all earthly distinctions are forgotten.

CHAPTER V.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

RETROSPECT — DISAPPOINTMENT IN COLLEAGUES — DECISION — EXCURSION IN ASIA MINOR — DISAPPOINTMENT RELIEVED — PREPARATION FOR THE TOUR — MY ATTENDANT — HIS CHARACTER AND TRAVELS — INCIDENT IN THE BAZARS — TURKISH COURT OF JUSTICE — THE KADI — OATHS — BOND — FALSE WITNESSES — THE ISSUE — OPINIONS OF MOHAMMEDANS RESPECTING THE SACRED SCRIPTURES — DOCTRINE OF THE KORAN — RESEMBLANCES AND DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE KORAN AND THE BIBLE — THE LATTER, HOW REGARDED BY TURKS — HOW FAR CIRCULATED — THE BIBLE IN PERSIA — MARTYN'S LABOURS.

I MUST now go back, for a moment, to acquaint my readers with certain events that transpired at the same time with those which I have narrated, and which relate more immediately to the history of my mission. At the time of my departure from the United States, it was in contemplation that a colleague should join me in Constantinople during the fall. I had secured for this purpose a promise of the services of my excellent friend, Dr. Savage, whose knowledge and experience in the medical profession, it was hoped, would be of invaluable benefit as a safeguard for ourselves in the inhospitable regions through which the line of our tour was to pass, and would be the surest passport to the kindness and confidence of people almost destitute of the blessings of the healing art. So, indeed, my own experience subsequently taught me it would have proved. But I was not

destined to enjoy the blessing. Some time after my embarkation, Dr. S. deemed it his duty to proceed to Africa in connection with the Protestant Episcopal Mission about to be established on the Western shores of that country. Almost the first information which I received of the change in his destination, was that he was already on his way to Cape Palmas. Of the regret which this change occasioned, I need not now speak. It was, at the moment, considerably alleviated by the intelligence which accompanied its announcement, from which I learned that another gentleman had already been appointed to succeed Dr. S. as my associate in the Mission. The natural regret that I felt in the loss of a medical colleague was also somewhat relieved by the information, that my new companion would remain a few months in the United States, for the pursuit of medical studies. The delay again proved fatal to my hopes. At the moment when I was expecting his arrival, the news of a providential obstacle having intervened to prevent his embarkation, reached my ears. In the communication which brought it I was bidden to expect no farther aid. The delay that had already arisen had considerably curtailed the time that I was at liberty to devote to the Mission. A longer detention at Constantinople, in expectation of another colleague, seemed, therefore, unadvisable. Such was the judgment of the Committee, in which my own fully concurred. This conclusion, however, placed me in a sore dilemma. I must either go forward alone with, at the best, but a feeble hope of living to complete the work, or I must turn back and leave it to be a certain and signal failure. In such circumstances there appeared no room to hesitate. I determined to proceed to Persia, and

thence to shape my course as Providence and duty might direct.

When I received this news I was at Smyrna, where I had just terminated an excursion through the North-Western part of Asia Minor. I had undertaken it to try the extent of my acquisitions in Turkish, as well as improve them, and to learn by actual trial what preparation would be most useful for my tour. I travelled without an interpreter and without any other than native means and appurtenances. I found as the result, that the common themes of conversation were already familiar to me, and that, with a little more practice, I might venture upon any of the subjects of investigation that lay before me. The prospect of being independent of the aid of a native interpreter, who is always sensitive concerning the estimation in which he is held, and has always the power to direct the movements of his master and to fashion the information which he shall receive, both as to quantity and quality, according to his own convenience and fancy, and the ability of throwing myself familiarly among those whose character, habits and opinions it was my object to learn, were all sufficiently elating.

Wise men have said that the ills of life are generally attended by some relieving accompaniment of good. It was certainly some abatement of my own disappointment, that I was ready for my work, and that the same communication which had been the messenger of the heaviest tidings that I had ever received, freed me at the same time from the wearisomeness of suspense. I had nothing farther to detain me from my tour. It was now the first week in May. The best season for travelling in the interior was passing away. I hastened,

therefore, back to Constantinople and commenced immediately the preparations for my departure.

By the first of June I was ready to start. My baggage consisted of two large Turkish bags of Russian leather, sufficiently capacious to hold all that my wants required, and intended to be slung upon a horse. Besides this, I took two other bags of a thinner and lighter material, designed to carry such articles as might be needed on the way or at my lodging-places. By this arrangement I hoped to avoid the necessity of opening my baggage, excepting at places where I was to spend several days. The small bags contained, therefore, a leathern sack of ground coffee, a case of Turkish cups, a small coffee-pot, a covering of thick, stout cloth, to be assumed whenever overtaken by a storm on the road, a Turkish lantern, tapers, napkins, slippers, and numerous *set ceteras*, all purchased in the bazars of Constantinople. The large bags carried my clothing, which consisted chiefly of a few shirts and a new suit for cities, made after the style introduced by the Sultan among his own subjects and followed by himself, to wit, a frock coat with standing collar and single breast, buttoning close to the chin, pantaloons differing still less than the other from a European garb, and a fez like that already described. With these were a few books, to aid my travels and inquiries, a goodly amount of stationary, a small assortment of medicines, and a small canteen which I caused to be made after an original pattern and arranged with great care. This contained every thing necessary for cooking and eating, and afterwards constituted in Tebriz all the furniture of my kitchen. Besides this, there were numerous small articles for which there are no English synonymes, and of which I should never have dreamed

if my own knowledge had not been aided by the superior wisdom and experience of my attendant.

This person, who was destined to bear an important part in the events and fortunes of my journey, was an Armenian, and a native of Constantinople. He was of a good family in the city, and engaged in my service rather as a companion than a servant. He had travelled over the East with a French Count, had visited Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, had traversed Asia Minor in every direction, had seen most of the islands of the Archipelago, had been over Greece and the Ionian Isles, and, when my acquaintance commenced with him, had just returned from a second journey into Persia, whither he had conducted the English ambassador. His acquisitions were as various as his travels. He knew more or less of eight different languages. Armenian, Turkish, and Greek, were perfectly familiar to him. He knew something of Persian and Arabic. He was master of the Italian, could speak French with considerable fluency, and stammered a little in English. This variety of linguistic knowledge in the same individual is not uncommon in Constantinople. It is generally colloquial merely, and is acquired in the earliest years, so that it is sometimes difficult to tell from a child's speech to what nation he belongs. In some regions of the country, as among the Greeks of the Southern sections of Asia Minor and the Chaldeans and Syrians of Mesopotamia, the oral use of their national tongue is generally unknown, and Turkish or Arabic has taken its place.

The qualifications of Hohannes, or John, for such was the name which my attendant bore, were too pre-eminent to be overlooked. Besides his lingual attainments, he had received a partial education in the

Jesuit's College of Galata, and was both intelligent and fond of knowledge. I hoped, therefore, that he might be of efficient service to me in my own inquiries and would aid in extending my acquaintance with the countries through which I was to pass. I lost no time, therefore, in engaging him to accompany me. A mutual pledge was given in writing, in which he promised to abide by me, and I, on condition of his good behaviour, to retain him, to the end of my tour. The value of his services was eminently shown in the skill with which he superintended the arrangements for our departure.

As we were walking one day in the bazars a singular incident occurred. We were just issuing from a shop under the arched way leading to one of the khans, when a young Greek, who had been observing us for a few minutes, stepped forward and stood in our path. His appearance and action showed that he wished to attract our notice and John immediately asked what he wanted. He replied by demanding the payment of a sum due him from John, saying that the latter had long escaped his notice by having assumed the new costume of the Sultan in place of the Armenian dress which he formerly wore. John was, at first, somewhat disturbed by the charge, but promptly denied the debt and demanded how much the Greek supposed it to be. "Ten piastres," was the reply. Upon this there followed a loud war of words. John asseverated his innocence and the Greek persisted in the charge. He followed us as we pursued our way, now and then plucking the Armenian by the coat and vociferating his accusation in the hearing of the multitude who thronged the bazar. The latter at last lost all patience, and began to show an intention of proving his innocence with his fists. Unwilling to see him involved in a fray that might lead to consequences

prejudicial to my own interests as well as to himself, I took him aside and remonstrated against his denying the debt, if he had really incurred it, offering myself, in that case, to discharge it. He persisted, however, in his denial, and declared that he had never so much as seen his accuser before. As I had already had strong proofs of his integrity, I began to suspect that the whole charge might be a fabrication, and advised him, if he could do no better, to carry the matter before the proper authorities. Immediately he turned to the Greek and called upon him to follow.

We proceeded together to the *Eski Serai*, (Old Palace,) the quarters of the Serasker Pasha, passed between the sentinels stationed at the gate, crossed the spacious court, and entered a small room. The parties advanced and stood in the middle of the apartment, while I remained at the door to watch the progress of the trial. A middle-aged Effendi was seated opposite. The Greek with a low selam opened his complaint, but great was my astonishment when I heard him charge John with a debt of seven times the amount that he had alleged in the bazar. The Effendi turned to the Armenian and asked him if he acknowledged the debt. Upon his replying in the negative the judge told them that they must go to the *mehkemeh*, or Kadi's Court, and immediately ordered a servant to attend them. So good an opportunity of seeing the interior of a Turkish court of justice could not be suffered to pass unimproved. I determined, therefore, to follow.

We reached, at length, a low, red, wooden building in style and appearance like a Turkish house. The servant conducted us up a flight of stairs into the presence of an inferior officer, who has the first cognizance of such cases. The same process was repeated here as at

the palace, excepting that the officer ordered a scribe to make a record of the case. We were, then, conducted to the door of another apartment, before which hung a heavy curtain of coarse cloth. The servant raised the curtain and told us to enter. Thinking that my evidence might be of service to prove the contradiction in the words of the Greek, I entered and remained in the middle of the floor with the parties. The room was a small one and without any other furniture than an ordinary Turkish sofa opposite the door. In one corner of this sofa sat a short and stout personage somewhat inclining to corpulency. At the moment of our entrance he was munching a head of lettuce. We were in the presence of the Kadi, the ordinary distributor of justice in Turkish cities, but one educated in the medresseh and learned in the law. The same questions as before were asked and answered. Both parties seemed in great awe of the superior presence in which they now stood and spoke with greater moderation than before.

When the Kadi observed the contradiction in their words he ordered a servant, who stood near the door with his hands folded before him, to bring a book that lay upon a small shelf in the corner of the apartment. Upon this, an old and well-worn volume was put in the hands of the accuser, who, holding it before him, pronounced, in Turkish, these words: "By God, this man owes me money." John immediately took the book and said, "By God, I do not owe him money." The judge then demanded of the accuser, "Where are your witnesses?" The Greek replied that he had friends who would bear testimony to the debt, but wished for some time that he might find them. "Then," said the Kadi, "go away and return to-morrow," and calling the attendant he required him to see that the defendant found security for

his appearance. The plaintiff and defendant made a low obeisance of which the Kadi took no notice. I knew from the position which I occupied, standing in the middle of the floor, that my own respects would be received with no higher deference and I, therefore, spared them. Before I had turned my back the Kadi was engaged with his lettuce again.

John was able to secure the assent of his brother, a respectable jeweller of the city, to stand responsible for his re-appearance on the morrow, and we were permitted to proceed upon our business. The *kavass*, or servant who acted as constable in the case, had offered to settle the affair for a competent present; but I advised John, if he were truly innocent, to maintain it before the Kadi, and he was a man of too much spirit to do otherwise.

Those who have an insight into life at Constantinople know something of the incessant intrigues and lesser rogueries which the love of money and of power, and sometimes baser passions, are pursuing among the myriads of its population. A foreigner may spend his life in the city without becoming conversant with them. It is one, however, among the best known of the secrets of the capital, that there are among the Mussulmans themselves professional false-witnesses, whose places of resort are known and who are always to be found ready to be used as evidences to any thing that their employer may direct them to say. The fact is familiar to every Mussulman in the city, and is nowhere better known than in the mehkemehs, where these professional characters are recognized by their frequent appearance. The profession, however, is an easy one in a country where, in civil cases, justice is administered in the most summary manner, where there are no lawyers to cross-examine, and but slight penal safeguards against perjury.

John imagined that the services of some of these characters might be put into requisition in the present instance, and, as the Greek had left the mehkemeh to go in search of his witnesses, we thought it best to look into some of the haunts of men of this sort. The result was, that in passing a range of cafés notorious as the harboring places of such characters, we found the Greek in earnest conversation with a Mussulman. We did not disturb the conference farther than to make the former aware of our presence. The confusion which the sight of us created strengthened my conviction that the whole was a piece of imposition. The issue of the business served only to confirm it. The next day the father of the Greek sent for John, made ample apology for his son's mistake and proposed to settle the matter by each one's making a small present to the kavass. The Kadi, probably, amidst the multiplicity of such cases daily presented before him, never again thought of the trifling question between the Armenian and the Greek.

All this may serve as an introduction to certain more important information, which I may not have a better opportunity to bestow upon my reader. He will have observed the manner of the oath taken in this case and the fact of its having been administered upon the Gospel. The Mussulman in like manner takes it upon the Koran and the Jew upon the Pentateuch or the Old Testament. Here is, then, an apparent recognition of the divine authority of the religious books both of the Christians and of the Jews. The ancient form of the oath was still more expressive. The witness, if a Jew, swore "by that God who sent from Heaven the Bible to Moses," and, if a Christian, "by that God who sent from Heaven the Bible to Jesus Christ."* It is not any change of

* Tableau Général de l' Empire Othoman. Par D'Ohsson. VI. 231.

belief which has changed the terms of the oath, but simply a regard to brevity. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are still, as they ever have been, acknowledged as the word of God and so to be received by all true Mussulmans. It is at this point, if I mistake not, that Islamism makes its nearest approach to Christianity, and it is in this connexion that we are to find one of our highest encouragements in praying and hoping for the conversion of the Mohammedans.

The founder of the religion expressly admitted the divine authority of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel. He regarded them as former revelations of the same faith as he inculcated, and as confirmatory of his own pretended revelation.* He uniformly announced his religion as a third and final dispensation, based upon Judaism and Christianity. In a word, he considered these dispensations as standing in the same relation to his own, that we conceive the former to hold to Christianity. He classed all true religion under the generic term, Islam, or Devotedness to God, and claimed the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, and Jesus Christ of the New Testament, as professors or apostles of this one faith. He considered his own dispensation as superior to the others, only because it closed and completed all, but no one could consistently receive it while rejecting those which preceded. He made their sacred writings the model on which he formed, and the store-house from which he drew, his own spurious revelations. He adopted their histories and biographies, repeated their precepts, and, in part, their doctrines, endorsed their sentiments, and borrowed

* See Appendix, VII.

even their phraseology.* The copy, it is true, bore only a partial resemblance to the original. With the inspired narratives of Scripture were mingled the wildest legends and the grossest absurdities.

It is still a question whether this was his own work, or owing to the corrupt sources from which his materials were drawn. Several spurious Gospels were then extant, and the Talmud contained the amplest materials for credulity and superstition to weave into a new fabric. His departure, however, from the true text of Scripture, and his announcement of doctrines contrary to those contained in the sacred writings of the Jews and Christians, brought him into direct conflict with his own professed standards. His only resort was to charge these last with having been corrupted from the original revelations, which he claimed to be in perfect accordance with his own. Thus he separated his religion again from that of the Bible, and put into the mouths of his followers an argument, which to this day they have not ceased to use. They acknowledge the divine authority of the Bible, but it is of a supposititious book which, if it could be found, would prove the exact counterpart of the Koran. The first great object, therefore, to be effected, would seem to be to prove the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures as now received by the Christian Church.† But a great difficulty meets us here in the

* The analogy between the Bible and the Koran is very fully and accurately drawn by Forster, in his work entitled *Mohammedanism Exposed*, Sect. VIII. Fifty pages are occupied with parallel passages from the two volumes. The whole work of Forster is a masterpiece of learned research and ingenious criticism.

† Professor Lee, of Cambridge, Eng., has adopted this idea, in his translation of Henry Martyn's Controversies with the Persian Mollahs, and has appended a learned Treatise to prove the Christian

fact that to the mind of a Mussulman this is most satisfactorily and conclusively disproved by the declaration of his own prophet, which he presumes to be a sure and undoubted revelation from Heaven. Here, therefore, as, I believe, on every other point, controversy would prove useless.

A surer method would be to introduce the Scriptures as far as practicable among the Mussulmans, and leave them to their own examination and to the Spirit of God. Even now the Bible is, by no means, a stranger in the hands of Mussulmans, for though those possessed by Christians are supposed to be corrupt, they are, on the whole, respected as the Word of God. Their connection with Mohammedanism, and the frequent allusions to them in the Koran, render them an object of curiosity, especially to the learned Mussulmans. They are frequently sought after from no other motive than to learn the nature of the doctrines which they teach. Several instances have come to my knowledge in which men in authority have sent requests for copies to Christians whom they knew to possess them. The parts which they choose and read with the greatest pleasure, are the narrative portions, in which they often become intensely interested.

About nine miles distant from Broussa, the first capital of the Turkish Empire, is a village inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks and Turks. On a certain occasion, the latter requested the priest of the village to read the Gospel to them. He consented and sat down with most of the Mussulmans in the village around him, and a copy of the New Testament, procured from an

Scriptures to have been preserved, in all important points, free from corruption.

American missionary in Broussa, in his hand. He began and read on amidst almost breathless silence, until the hour for meals had come. His hearers, however, had become so deeply interested in the narrative, that they would not permit him to suspend the reading. He continued, therefore, uninterrupted until he came to the closing scenes of the life of Christ. Here they stopped, for it is a doctrine of the Mohammedans that it was not Jesus who was crucified, but some one in his appearance and likeness.*

The lives of the patriarchs and prophets are also a favourite portion of the Scriptures to the Mussulmans. Their own books are full of stories concerning them. They speak of them with the deepest reverence. They regard them all as veritable Mussulmans, as, in the literal sense of the word, they indeed were. They adopt their names. They respect the places of their birth and perform pilgrimages to their sepulchres.

The other portions of the sacred writings which Mussulmans read with the highest admiration, are those which abound in moral sentiments and precepts. Such are the Psalms of David and the Proverbs of Solomon. The former are replete with those expressions of adoration and trust in God which are most congenial to a devout Mussulman, and with allusions and resemblances most familiar to the mind of an Oriental. The latter is, throughout, an Eastern book. Its apothegmatical and sententious style is that to which the minds of

* The doctrine is thus declared in the Koran: "They slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness." This doctrine, as is well known, was one of the earliest heresies which crept into the Church. Mohammed doubtless drew it from some of the spurious Gospels which existed in his day.

Mussulmans are most accustomed in their own books on moral truth and duty.

Not to particularize farther, I may mention the Sermon on the Mount as another portion of Scripture which I have heard Mussulmans read and expatiate upon with evident delight. The only parts of the sacred volume which Mohammed expressly recognized as canonical, were the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel. The other parts, however, were not rejected, but rather, under the general appellation of *the Scriptures*, acknowledged. They are sometimes read, and are even used to prove the divine authority of the apostleship of Mohammed, for, corrupt as our Scriptures are alleged to be, Mussulman controversialists pretend to find in them predictions concerning their own prophet.* It is curious, indeed, to observe how much attention has been given to them by Mohammedan divines. They have been searched not only for the purpose just mentioned, but to detect the corruptions which are supposed to exist in them; and it is not a little singular that the very passages which infidels have adduced as instances of contradictions and inconsistencies, the followers of Mohammed have preferred in proof of a less presumptuous position. Books have also been written to show that it is prohibited to Mussulmans to translate or cite from the Bible, as it now exists, and, in accordance with its supposed character, as being neither entirely pure nor wholly spurious, tradition reports a saying of Mohammed which forbids his followers either to believe in or reject it.

Such prohibitions, however, do not prevent it from being received and read. It is preserved with great care

* See Appendix, VIII.

and is called, in common with the Koran, *Kitabi Scherif*, or Noble Book. It is impossible to say how far it has gone into circulation among the Mohammedans. It is certain that, at different times, a multitude of copies have been distributed in Turkey. I have sufficient reason to believe that in private it is attentively perused by many individuals, and that it is sometimes read and commented upon in companies of friends. It has been sent into different parts of the kingdom, where, besides those intended for Mussulmans, numerous copies have been distributed among those Christians to whom the Turkish is the vernacular tongue. It has been openly offered for sale and read to Mussulmans at fairs, and presents of copies have been made to governors of towns and other men in authority. In Constantinople from ten to fifteen copies are annually sold to Mussulmans from the depository of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On one occasion, a copy of the New Testament in each of the three great languages of the Mussulmans—Arabic, Turkish, and Persian—was purchased by officers from the mehkemeh, for the purpose of examining whether the duties required of witnesses were enjoined in the Scriptures of Christians.*

In Persia, the work of distribution has been much more extensively prosecuted, and it is not uncommon to

* I heard in Turkey some intimations of a Firman which had been issued against the circulation of the Scriptures several years before, but after the most diligent search I was unable to procure a copy. The Rev. Dr. Walsh, late chaplain to the English Embassy in Constantinople, in one of his volumes upon Turkey, gives a translation of a Firman on this subject, which purports to have been issued in June, 1824. It prohibits the sale of the Scriptures in the bazars, and orders that, if found in the hands of any Mussulman, they be "snatched from him, cast into the flames, and reduced to ashes."

meet with Persians who have formed some acquaintance with the Scriptures. That portion which has gone most widely into circulation is Martyn's translation of the New Testament. By single copies it has made its way into many houses, and I found those who were acquainted with it in almost every city through which I passed. Doubtless, if the search were made, they would be found in considerable numbers, in most of the principal places. All this is the result of a single year of missionary labour in Persia. If the heavenly mind of him who through grace wrought these results, can now contemplate this product of his solitary toil extending its benign influence over the land of his sufferings and prayers, is he not, even amidst the beatitudes of Heaven, satisfied with his earthly travail? The Scriptures, it is true, have not as yet effected any marked change in Persia. But the word of truth is there, and Persia is not excluded from the promises of a universal blessing through Christ. Martyn's translation of the New Testament will, doubtless, remain, as it now is, the standard version in that language. By it, though dead, he yet speaks. He has multiplied himself and made his agency coeval with the world. He has sent down an influence through all the future ages of Persia, and, while enjoying himself the rest for which he was so eminently prepared, he has left on earth an agent to prosecute his own labour to the end of time. May the Church from which he went out and her daughter of the Western world, be deeply imbued with the same faith and patience in the kingdom of Christ!

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO TREBIZOND.

FIRMAN—ITS CHARACTER—DEPARTURE FROM CONSTANTINOPLE—PASSENGERS—BLACK SEA—SINOPE—TREBIZOND—ITS EARLY HISTORY — DESCRIPTION — POPULATION — OSMAN PASHA — CHANGES—FRIENDS.

OUR last act of preparation at Constantinople was to procure a Firman of the Sultan, for we knew that as soon as we left that city in an easterly direction, we should be beyond the limits of those civilized lands where the passports of one's own nation are a sufficient protection. The royal document which I received, through the intervention of the American Chargé d'Affaires, gave orders to all the magistrates and governors of cities, towns and provinces, on the route which I intended to travel into Persia, and upon that by which I was to return, to afford me, my interpreter and two servants, (for I took care, by John's advice, that the protection should be extended to all whom I might, at any time, have in my service,) all needed aid and protection, to show me the rites of hospitality, and to permit me to pass free from all extortions, taxes and hinderances whatever.

It was written, as is the custom, upon an open sheet of the glossy, semi-pasteboard paper used for Turkish manuscripts. At the very top was the small character which stands as an abbreviation of *Bismillah*, In the name of God, a pious phrase with which writings of all kinds are generally prefaced in the East. Farther down

was the great cypher of the Sultan, then followed the manuscript, and after all, the signatures of the Grand Vezir, the Reis Effendi, or Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Register, the Scribe and two or three other officers. Besides this, I procured an order for post-horses, by means of which I might be furnished with a specified number of horses on any of the post routes, at the established price of a piaster an hour, or about one and a half cents per mile. This paper bore no signature lower than that of the Reis Effendi. Another still was necessary, which was a Custom-House pass, giving me permission to leave the city and embark for Trebizond. This was also headed by the sign of the universal Bismillah.

Thus prepared, I left Constantinople at ten o'clock, on the morning of the first of June, in the same steamer that had brought me to the city ten months before. The deck of the boat was crowded with passengers of different nations. There were to be seen men from the shores of the Black Sea, from the interior of Asia Minor, from the Caucasus, the borders of Kurdistan, and from Persia. Among them were a Colonel of the Turkish army and a legate from the Sultan to the court of the Shah, to say nothing of captains and inferior officers. These were all provided with a deck passage, and it was curious to observe, in this instance, the almost paradoxical combination of extreme simplicity and extreme punctiliousness in Turkish manners. The envoy was accompanied by three or four servants, who attended upon him constantly with the utmost precision of established etiquette. Yet he seemed entirely unconscious of any derogation from his rank in occupying a position on deck, although he well enough knew our own distinctions in this respect. His food for the voyage was put up in two or

three fig-drums, yet the place where he sat was distinguished from all others by being close in the stern of the boat, and a little elevated above the deck. I made, during the passage, some acquaintance with him and the Colonel, which was afterwards increased in Erzroum. Neither of them used the tchibouk, but both were inveterate snuff-takers The two habits are not unfrequently combined in a Turk, but I believe none of them have yet reached the civilization of the quid. It used to be one of my standing tales of the wonders of the West, that people are there found who chew tobacco, and the information was generally as astounding to my listeners as a story of a rail-road.

I must not forget another character on board who honoured me with his acquaintance. He was a Tatar, or Government courier, a profession with which my reader will become more familiar, if he continue with me to the end of my tour. The individual in question was one of that class of Mussulmans for which this profession is distinguished, a neglecter of prayers, one who drinks *rakee*, the Eastern substitute for rum, and is not over-scrupulous in telling the truth. He wished to accompany me from Trebizond to Erzroum. He was just returning from Constantinople whither he had been to take a wife. He had another, he said, in Trebizond, so that, as his business called him most frequently to these two places, he might be always at home. I subsequently knew another Tatar, who had the full number of wives allowed by the Koran, and these were distributed along the route which he generally travelled, one at Constantinople, another at Tocat, a third at Diarbekir, and a fourth at Bagdad.

Our passage of the Black Sea was easy and pleasant. The coast was one continuous range of hills thrown to-

gether in singular confusion and rising into higher eminences beyond. It appeared to be nowhere rock-bound, nor indented with harbours, excepting that of the ancient Sinope. This beautiful bay opens to the East, and affords the best harbour on the Southern shore of the Black Sea. The town still bears a similitude to its ancient name, in the Turkish *Sinab*. The date of its original foundation is lost in the highest antiquity. Its advantageous position for commerce doubtless pointed it out to the Milesian colony which first settled there. In the reign of Mithridates, it was a capital of Pontus. It was also the birth-place of Diogenes, to whose memory the inhabitants of the city erected statues. Its commercial greatness had departed before it fell into the hands of the conqueror of Constantinople, and probably since that period it has had no increase. It is still, however, in this and in every point of view, one of the most important places on the shore of the Black Sea. We touched there the first night after leaving Constantinople. The next forenoon we reached Samsoun, a pretty town lying upon the curve of a broad bay, and at half-past twelve, noon, of the third day, arrived at Trebizond.

This city is familiar to every reader of Eastern history as the ancient Trapezus. The Turks here, as in a multitude of instances, have preserved some memento of the name in their appellation of *Tarabezon*. Like most of the cities of the East, it has passed through every vicissitude of fortune. Originally founded by a Greek colony from Sinope, it rose to greatness during the second century of the Christian era, when the Emperor Hadrian constructed there an artificial port, the remains of which are visible at the present day. It was already celebrated for its wealth and splendour, when

it was taken and desolated by the Goths, in the third century. It afterwards reverted to the Greeks, and, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Latins, it was erected into an independent dukedom, over which a branch of the dethroned Comnenes reigned with the proud title of Emperor. By the last of these princes it was surrendered to Mohammed II., the year following his acquisition of Sinope.

It is near the south-eastern extremity of the Euxine, and at a point favourable for commerce. Its harbour, however, affords no secure anchorage for shipping, and its ancient trade is long since extinct. It is only within the last ten years that there have appeared some signs of revival. Within the five years preceding my visit, the importation of European produce had quadrupled. The establishment of steam communication with Constantinople the year before, had given the trade a new impulse. Could its ancient advantages be restored and the sources of commerce be quickened in the interior, it might yet rival its former greatness. At present it has little to boast, excepting the beauty of its position. Its bazars are inferior, its houses, generally, of a poor appearance, and some of its streets so narrow that the passenger, walking in the middle, can almost touch both sides with his hands. It has still a wall which must have stood for ages. An intelligent friend, for several years a resident in the city, supposes it to have been erected by the Genoese, during the period when they had the trade of the Levant in their hands, and to have been only the first of a line of similar fortifications still to be seen at different points along the route from Trebizond to Persia. At present it encloses but a part of the city, and would seem to be unequal to the

overflowing population for which Trebizond was formerly distinguished.

An accurate observer informed me that there were about 5000 families within the walls, all of which were Turkish. This estimate would give a Mussulman population of about 25,000; my informant believed it to be 24,000. The Christians, of whom 2500 are Greeks, 1200 Armenians, and about 300 Armenian Catholics and Franks, reside without the wall, beyond which the town extends towards the East. The whole population may then be about 27,000. Travellers and geographers, within the last century, have variously estimated it from 100,000 to 15,000, a discrepancy which may serve, at least, to teach us how little dependence is to be placed upon estimates of Eastern population. My own conviction is that it is generally over-rated for particular places, but under-rated in the estimates for large regions.

Trebizond is the chief town of the pashalic of Trebizond, which has been gradually enlarged until it reaches along the Black Sea to the Kizzil Ermak on the one hand, and inward so as to include Gumush Khaneh on the other. Its ruler, Osman Pasha, is a dervish and a Mussulman of the old school. He carries out, it is said, the principles of his religion into the most rigid practice. He abstains even from the indulgence of the pipe, and my informant, who was a native, added, as a still higher proof of his moderation, he has only three wives. His prejudices are believed to be opposed to the new system of the Sultan, but, with all his attachment to the ancient principles of his faith, he is politic enough to conceal his displeasure. He has, indeed, been of most essential service to the Sultan in subduing the independent chiefs and lawless tribes with which his pashalic

was infested. Such a man is rarely to be found in Turkey at the present day, among those high in authority. If it is ungrateful to find one who still adheres to the austere dogmas and practices of Islamism, it is at least some abatement to know that they have saved him from that laxness of principle and conduct which, in most cases, follow their subversion. The present influence of Europe upon Turkey tends most strongly to infidelity and licentiousness, an infidelity worse than Islamism, and a licentiousness more to be deplored than polygamy. Osman Pasha is a severe moralist as well as a sincère Mussulman. He openly and strongly discountenances vice. One instance was related to me of his having banished a domestic from his service for a lewd expression in conversation.

Under such a ruler it were not to be expected that the Turks themselves would exhibit any marked signs of the changes which are so powerfully working in the capital. These changes, indeed, are hardly yet perceptible in the interior, by the same visible indication as in Constantinople. The traveller is surprised on leaving the city, where everything appears in a state of transition, to find himself suddenly thrown among a population bearing the same impress that they have preserved for ages. I do not mean that the influence of reform has not been felt widely and deeply throughout the land. But it has not yet awakened Turkish mind from its sleep of ages. It is working quietly and silently, but, (especially since the recent abdication of government monopolies,) it is working among the elements of national character and destiny. Trebizond has felt less the influence of the changes in the capital, because, until the introduction of steam navigation on the Euxine, it has, from its retired position, been farther removed

from Constantinople than many places more remote in the interior. Yet I was not able to learn that its Mussulman population were more bigoted than in other parts of the Empire, or that they were peculiarly strict in their religious observances. On the contrary, some of the most gratifying instances of liberality of sentiment and freedom of inquiry that have ever come to my knowledge were related to me at Trebizond. I was told of one Mussulman who had asked for and received a Bible from a Christian, of another who had been brought to acknowledge the insufficiency of his religion in its provision for the most momentous of our moral wants, the want of a Saviour, of many who were willing to converse freely and candidly on religious topics, and of several who had read and commended the word of God.

I regarded Trebizond as the starting point of my tour, for the passage of the Euxine being of the nature of a pleasure excursion, was not proper to appear in an account in which every item of experience was expected to contain a fair proportion of hardship and annoyance. I tarried there four days, under the hospitable roof of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, an old friend and classmate. He was residing here as a missionary, in connection with the Rev. Mr. Johnston, but is since, I believe, removed to a more promising sphere of labour at Erzroum.

CHAPTER VII.

TREBIZOND TO GUMUSH KHANEH.

CARAVANS AND POST-HORSES—LEAVE TREBIZOND—LAZES—VALLEY CHIEFS—VISIT FROM ONE—THE PEASANT—HILLS AT SUNRISE—OPPRESSION—DEFECT OF REFORM—SUMMITS—SNOW-STORM—STAVROS—TURKISH TRAVELLERS—GUMUSH KHANEH—MINES AND POVERTY—TURKISH POLITY—POPULATION—SCHOOLS—HOSPITALITY.

Now that experience has so abundantly taught me the superior pleasure and convenience of travelling with post-horses in Turkey, I know not what could ever have induced me to hire a muleteer, to convey me to Erzroum. It must have been that I was thereto persuaded by others, for of all tedious things it is the superlative to be packed upon caravan horses like so much merchandise and to travel some hundreds of miles at the rate of three per hour. These horses are the same as are used in the trade of the country, for, as of old, the whole trade of the East is on the backs of animals,—horses, mules, asses, or camels. They may belong to the muleteer who drives them, or to a richer man who remains at home and lets his horses, perhaps hundreds in number, for the transportation of merchandise. It is a matter of indifference to him of what nature the burden may be. It may be a bale of goods or it may be a traveller. The latter may always find these horses at his command, if he is content to be carried at the same price and with as much expedition and attention to comfort as if he were the former.

I engaged four such animals, at such a price, and for such a purpose, the day before I left Trebizond, reserving only the condition, in consideration of my humanity, that I should not be compelled to lodge in any open field where the muleteer might chance to find the best feed for his horses, but should go on by regular stages from village to village. The condition proved too severe. While I awaited the time of my departure, the muleteer made a bargain for less troublesome goods, and never returned to fulfil his engagement with me. No other caravan horses were then in the city. I was, therefore, reduced to the unwelcome necessity, as I then felt it, of travelling more comfortably on post-horses. The Pasha obeyed the royal order which I sent him by John, and ordered the horses to be provided immediately.

At one hour before noon, on Thursday, the 8th of June, we mounted. The baggage-horse and muleteer were sent forward at an earlier hour, while we followed with my American friends, who accompanied me to the summit of the hill that rises abruptly behind the town, where we parted, probably forever. From this point a beautiful scene of cultivated grounds and verdant fields stretching away from the city along the foot of the hill, spread itself before the eye and seemed like a happy augury for the long and various way before me.

We soon overtook our muleteer and followed him down into the Deyerman Dereh, or Mill Valley, through which runs a stream of the same name. We pursued our way along its right bank amidst scenes of great loveliness. The hills on either side were cultivated nearly to their summits. The shingle-roofed houses scattered along the steep declivities, wore a newer and neater appearance than I had ever observed before in the country

places of Turkey. These were the abodes of the Lazes, of whom our guide said, that they were Mussulmans and spoke a corrupt Greek. Foot-paths alone lead to their dwellings. Formerly they were notorious robbers, subject only to the Lords of the Valleys who ruled over these regions. The seat of one of those old chieftains was pointed out about nine miles from Trebizond, perched on the summit of a tall, sharp ridge, rising boldly from the midst of the valley and dividing it into two branches. This aerial palace was now the mansion of the Ayan, who rules the district around, under the Pasha of Trebizond. These Ayans are the peaceful successors of the lawless chiefs who once held free sway in these wild mountains, or, as in some instances is the fact, they are the same chiefs reduced to the condition of loyal rulers. Partly by intrigue and partly by violence, the Pasha has succeeded in bringing them all into subjection.

We took the right branch of the valley, and followed it until we reached Jevizlik, a hamlet some 18 miles from Trebizond, where we tarried for the night. Soon after sunset we received a visit in the coffee-shop where we had taken lodgings, from one of the Ayans of the neighbouring valleys. He was stuck round with pistols, and appeared as wild and uncultivated as the scenery amidst which he dwells. About twenty attendants followed at his heels, who were even more wild and uncultivated than himself. We had been accompanied from Trebizond by a peasant who declared that one of our horses belonged to him, and had been forcibly impressed into our service by an officer of the Pasha. He now appealed to the Ayan, who listened to his story, but when he heard that the horses were given by order of the Pasha, he declined interfering in the matter. I had been myself

excessively chagrined when I first heard the poor man's complaint, which was only after I had overtaken the muleteer and we were considerably advanced on the road. Even then my first impulse was to turn back, but John had experience enough to convince me that it was impracticable to remedy the matter, and he closed a long lecture on the proper mode of travelling in Turkey, with this sad but judicious admonition: "If you expect to repair every act of injustice which you may meet with in your travels, you will soon find your time and influence wasted to no purpose."

Having closed the labours of the first day with a dinner of eggs and *yoghourt*,* we wrapped our cloaks about us and stretched ourselves to rest, with the floor for our bed and our saddles for pillows. The next morning we were on horse at half-past five, when, leaving the valley we had hitherto pursued, and crossing the little stream that had thus far accompanied us, we turned into another valley to the right and soon began to ascend along the side of the mountain on our left. The morning was remarkably fine. A feathery mist hung in fleeces about the hills. It extended, for a few minutes shrouded us in thick fog, and then as suddenly opened, rose, became condensed, and gathered in magnificent banks of white clouds around the summits of the mountains, contrasting strongly with their dark sides and forming with their wild scenery the most imposing prospects.

As we advanced the path became exceeding difficult from recent rains and broken pavements, which last rather increased than diminished the natural roughness of the way. Cultivation now ceased and we plunged

* Pronounced *yo-oort*—sour curd made from milk, a common article of food both in Turkey and Persia.

into a forest of noble spruce and hard-wood trees. In the difficult passes over which our path lay, we overtook, at short intervals, six or seven companies of peasants, who were employed in dragging as many small field-pieces over rugged and steep rocks which seemed insurmountable. Some of the ascents which we could accomplish only by picking a zig-zag course over the rocks, they were compelled to scale in a right and nearly vertical line. The difficult nature of the work may be understood from the fact, that there were not less than fifty stout men attached to each gun. We afterwards passed one on the summit of the mountain, fast fixed in a snow-drift. Peasants with rude pipes accompanied the parties, either to give the wearisome march a more martial aspect or to beguile its tediousness by the charms of music, while the conductors of the companies ran by the side of the labourers with long sticks in their hands, with which and with many shouts they urged them on like so many cattle.

This too was reform. These guns were on their way to Erzroum, and the men who were performing the arduous duty of drawing them over the mountains, were peasants taken by force and without pay from the country around. The mode of march was for the inhabitants of each village or district to receive them from the last and drag them forward to the next. In this simple incident the observer may trace the radical error of Eastern reform. It is of a factitious and unnatural growth, or rather it was so at the time of which I now speak, for later changes denote a clearer view of the true principle of national improvement. In Turkey, and still more in Egypt, the object in view has been military strength, while the only sure grounds on which such strength can rest, were overlooked. It was forgotten, or rather it was

the last thought to enter the mind of an Eastern ruler, that there can be no true elevation unless the people are elevated, and that there is no foundation for national power of any kind, while individual industry is repressed by innumerable discouragements and the sources of production are withered by oppression and misrule. Compelled, by the necessity of their position, to gather around them a large military force, Mohammed Ali and Mahmoud II. aimed at the effects before they had the rudiments of European civilization, and hence it is that one sees the implements of war dragged over a country without roads, by peasants violently impressed, who are thus taught to hate improvement by the new hardships which it brings.

A more peaceful and a more grateful sight were the long trains of caravans, with from thirty to fifty horses in each, that came winding down the mountain path at short intervals, each horse walking free under his burden and carefully smelling and choosing his own way among the stones. Four hours' travel brought us to Kara Kaban, a cluster of small buildings with grocers' stalls and stables for the refreshment and repose of travellers. Hence the whole group, like the hamlet of Jevizlik is called a Khan, a name more commonly given to the large edifices in cities which serve as places of entertainment for strangers. Most of the buildings at Kara Kaban were new, being constructed of stone with shingled roofs. On inquiring the cause, I was told, that the robbers with whom the mountains were formerly infested, destroyed or prevented the erection of these places of entertainment, and that their existence now was owing only to the improved state of the country.

Beyond Kara Kaban the forest ceases entirely. The heights, though still retaining their verdure, are destitute

even of shrubs and are visited by incessant rains and fogs. Here we passed patches of snow lying in the hollows and clothing some of the highest points. Just after we left the Khan a violent snow-storm commenced and followed us for about two hours over the loftiest summits. It was accompanied by a furious wind most bitterly cold, which penetrated our thickest garments and benumbed both ourselves and our horses. The mountains on every side were suddenly covered with a white coat and we seemed at once transported from the heats of summer into the midst of winter. The return was equally rapid. Within ten minutes from the cessation of the storm, the sun was shining out so clear and warm that our cloaks became uncomfortable.

Descending from these heights through winding valleys whose sides, composed of loose soil, afforded in some places a very precarious footing, we arrived late in the afternoon at the little village of Stavros, (the Cross,) or, as it is spoken by the inhabitants, Stavree. A young Greek met us on the confines of the village and conducted us to a stable where we and our horses passed the night. We had intended to spend it in better quarters at Gumush Khaneh, the first town on our route, still eighteen miles distant. But our horses had broken down upon the mountains, and it was only by shifting the baggage from one to another, and performing a good part of the latter half of the journey on foot, that we were able to reach a shelter before nightfall.

The next morning we started in better condition, and were soon up among the hills again. Our company was now increased by the addition of a *Kaimakam*, the Turkish equivalent of a major, who had been to the capital in quest of a wife, and was now returning to his station at Erzroum, accompanied by his bride and her

mother. The general shape of the Turkish dress being the same for man and woman, the latter rides on horseback in the same manner as the former, but covered from head to foot in the yashmak and ferejeh. This was the first time that the young bride had been out of Constantinople, and when the party left Trebizond in the morning of the same day with ourselves, it was the first time she had ever ventured on horseback. We had overtaken them the day before in the midst of the storm on the mountains, in a most disconsolate condition. The major was separated from the rest of his party, his horse had broken from him and, when the sky cleared, was standing in a dejected posture on the top of a neighbouring height. The party, however, succeeded in reaching Stavros before night, where the major caused a house to be cleared for the reception of his harem and made his *Selamlik** in a stable like our own. During the evening I sent a cup of tea to his lodgings, and the next morning we started together on more intimate terms.

The ladies rode in advance, and as they were entirely unaccustomed to journeying, every brook that ran across our path and every difficult ascent or declivity was a subject of alarm and exclamation. At length the younger of the party broke forth in petulant displeasure, and began to reproach her new spouse with having deceived her in bringing her so long and perilous a journey. "Is this your country," she exclaimed, "which you told me was so beautiful? There are nothing but rivers, and mountains, and rocks. Alas, that I ever left Stamboul!" The officer acted the part of a good husband and endeavoured to appease her by kind assurances that this

* The apartment for men in a Turkish house.

was not his country, and that when they should come to it, she would find that he had told her the truth.

We reached Gumush Khaneh about noon. As it was now Saturday, and I intended to spend Sunday there, our first care was to procure suitable lodgings. For this purpose I despatched John to the governor of the town, who, upon the sight of the firman, appointed us a place in the house of the superintendant of the mines for which Gumush Khaneh is celebrated. The superintendant himself came to conduct us to our quarters, which were in an elevated situation, commanding an extensive prospect, and refreshed by the cool breezes of the hills. The town, which lay beneath us, was built in the form of an amphitheatre along the steep sides of a bend in the mountains. Its appearance, both within and without, was very unprepossessing. Its flat-roofed houses of earth, rising one above another, appear like excrescences from the parched soil of the mountains, and the streets which run among them are dirty, irregular and wearisome lanes. The inhabitants, too, appeared in good keeping with the other features of the place. We everywhere met with women in rags, or squalid and half-naked children begging for paras. Before we reached our lodgings we were accosted by nearly fifty of this character.

The history of the place explains both its situation and condition. The mountains in the vicinity bear ores of different kinds in their bosoms. Hence it is that this unfavourable position was chosen as the site for a town, and hence too the name it bears.* These mines formerly yielded 600 *okkas*, (1500 pounds,) of silver annually, and gave support to a large number of families.

* Gumush Khaneh—Place of Silver.

They now afford only from twenty to thirty okkas, and consequently a large portion of the population are thrown out of employment and plunged into poverty and wretchedness.

As every thing in the civil condition of a people has an immediate bearing upon the question of their moral improvement, so did I regard even the mines of Gumush Khaneh as having an important connection with the great object of my investigations. The reason why so large a portion of the population remain here, after the means of livelihood are cut off, is to be found, I apprehend, in that new, but most impolitic, regulation of the Turkish government, which forbids any one to remove his residence from one town to another without a firman from the Sultan, the procural of which by a poor subject of the interior is next to an impossibility. The law, however, is an admirable specimen of the short-sightedness of Turkish legislation, which is practically based upon no principles of political economy, but is a kind of patch-work, in which each piece is put in to cover a particular spot, without considering whether it agrees with the other parts, or conforms to the general design and appearance of the whole.

There had been a great reduction of population in certain parts of the empire on account of emigration to other parts. To prevent this supposed evil the law was made, without, apparently, its having been at all considered, that it was the interest of individuals which induced the emigration, that by change of place they became greater producers, and that thus the prosperity of the nation as well as their own was promoted. To keep the population at its height, several hundreds of poor must stay and starve in Gumush Khaneh, who might be employed elsewhere in the cultivation of the ground,

or in working more profitable mines in other parts of the empire.

As it is, the population of Gumush Khaneh is eight hundred families, including those in the valley below the town. Of these, four hundred are Greek, two hundred Armenian and as many Mussulman. The Armenian population includes eight Armenian Catholic families. These last have a priest, but no church. The Greeks, on the contrary, have four churches and the Armenians one. The former had lately established two new and promising schools. Teachers of some experience had been obtained from the capital. Ancient and modern Greek, with penmanship, were the principal branches taught. Several of the pupils came to see me. It was a peculiar gratification to hear from them the sweet and polished tones of the Constantinopolitan Greek, which they had acquired in the school, while their parents spoke a jargon which my interpreter, though well versed in the language, could not understand.

Notwithstanding the discomforts of the place, my own stay was very agreeable. My host gave up to me his best apartment, and set before me his choicest cheer. I thought that such hospitality must be Mussulman, and was not a little surprised to hear my entertainer acknowledge himself a Greek. He wore the yellow slippers and the white turban of a Turk, a privilege sometimes granted to Christians in office, and his truly Turkish hospitality made the deception complete.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM GUMUSH KHANEH TO ERZROUM.

Leave Gumush Khaneh—Xenophon—Ancient Fortress—Balahor—Baibout—Singular Edict of the Sultan—Cause of it—How far obeyed—Mussulmans of Baibout—Prospects of Reform—Medical Labours—Religious Charity—Its Objects—Its Decline—Scene among the Mountains—Ashkaleh—Warm Springs—Plain of Erzroum—General Remarks—Agriculture—People.

We left Gumush Khaneh at an early hour on Monday morning, and, re-crossing the river before the town, took a more easterly direction, following the line of the mountains through a valley overhung by barren and rocky heights. About nine miles from the town we passed a small village called Tekeh, a corruption, it may be, of the ancient name Teches, which belonged to the adjacent mountains when Xenophon and his disheartened Greeks descried from their summit the waters of the Euxine. As we wound through a bend in the valley, about six miles farther on our way, a magnificent spectacle suddenly opened before us. There rose perpendicularly from the bottom of the vale, a rock of immense height crowned by a tower, which seemed at first the highest pinnacle of the solid foundation on which it stood. As we advanced, we perceived that it was connected with an extensive fortress, which was accessible only on the farther side where the ridge declined to the valley.

Beyond this ridge the country began to assume a new appearance. The barren and discoloured steeps sank into gentle hills spread over with verdure, and the dry bottom of the valley expanded into a broad and beautiful plain covered with numerous herds of goats. Cultivation, of which we had only seen here and there a solitary patch since leaving the delightful valley of the Mill River, again appeared, and in a secluded nook lay the little village of Balahor, the first of those villages of round-topped houses, so common throughout Armenia, on the borders of which we now were. I shall have more to say of them when we shall have penetrated deeper into the country. We reposed till near midnight, when we started again, and, after an easy ride, entered Baibout at early dawn.

This town is singularly situated in a basin of the mountains, which rise high and bare on every side. A rapid stream, which has its source twenty-four miles above, flows through the place. It has a population of four hundred Mussulman and one hundred Armenian families, and boasts, besides, six mosques, four mesjids, and a church. As we are to remain here a day, and I have nothing more to say of the place, I will take the opportunity to discourse of other matters.

During the month of January, 1837, a royal order was issued at Constantinople and proclaimed through the streets, requiring all true Mussulmans to perform their regular devotions in the mosques. It is a privilege granted by the religion, that the Mussulman may offer the stated prayers in the mosque or elsewhere at his pleasure. The new regulation seemed to have been made to arrest the growing neglect of this most sacred duty. It originated undoubtedly among the Oulema, and afforded the strongest proof of their own conviction

that there was a decline in the rigid observances of Islam. Such I know to be a common sentiment among Mussulmans. The general confession that the religion is waning, has been made to me by numerous individuals among them in different parts of the Empire. By some the present is regarded as the approach of that season of universal apostacy when, as the Koran, receiving the hint from Christianity, predicts, Jesus shall reappear on the earth and subdue all nations, not to himself, but to Mohammed. The indication most commonly alleged in support of this belief, is the prevailing neglect of prayer, and this was the evil which the imperial edict was intended to correct. As a penalty for its violation, those who continued still to offend were conducted to the courts of the mosques and bastinadoed. The prospect of such a punishment had its desired effect. The lost devotion of thousands suddenly returned. The mosques were again crowded and the stalls of Mussulmans in the bazars were deserted at the hour of prayers.

On my return to Constantinople in 1838, the law was still in force, though the multitude were gradually reverting to their old habits. Yet I remember one day seeing a kavass walking through the bazars at the hour of prayer, with a whip in his hand, rousing the Turks as he passed and driving them off to the mosques. In the mean time I was curious to know whether it had been promulgated elsewhere, and made inquiries for it in every part of the kingdom. I found that it had been everywhere proclaimed, and heard various comments upon it in different quarters. An old Turk at Baibout, to whom I applied for information, bore a high testimony to the religious character of his townsmen. "There is no need of such orders here," he said, "for

we all go to mosque five times a day." His boast led me to observe how far his own practice was conformable, and I noticed that, during the day which I spent there, he did not perform his devotions at any one of the prescribed hours. Whether his testimony respecting others was any more veracious, I cannot tell farther than that I passed the day among them and saw no one at his prayers.

Several copies of the Turkish edition of the Royal Gazette are received and read in the town. It was these probably that had excited the great curiosity which he found to exist respecting the new doings at the capital. Many inquiries were made concerning the Sultan's army and navy, his fire-vessels, as they termed his steamers, and his new bridge. They listened with marked surprise to John's stories and exclaimed, "Sultan Mahmoud is a great king!" I was pleased to see that the effect upon them was to give them higher ideas of his greatness and power rather than to arouse their prejudices, especially as they were themselves Mussulmans of the old stamp, unreached by the hand of reform.

It is one of the most beneficent, though one of the silent influences of the changes which are working in Turkey, that, even in the most retired parts of the interior, where every thing remains outwardly as it has remained for centuries, men's minds are awakened by the distant rumours of reform and led to expect and wait for its introduction among themselves. The struggle of the enterprise will be in the capital, where it has been *suddenly* brought into *immediate* contact with the most *bigoted* population of Osmanlees any where to be found, and has been compelled to stand in opposition to the most powerful array of Mussulman learning, (which

is, as now cultivated, the parent of Mussulman prejudice,) that can be found in the world. When it has once triumphed here, it will easily extend its way over the Empire. It will nowhere meet with the same prejudices or the same learning, nor, I may add, with the same independence of character, as in Constantinople; it will be recommended by the all-powerful influence of the capital, and the people will long since have been familiarized with it by report before it appears among them.

My attendant John, observing the rising popularity of the Sultan at Baibout, and thinking that his own dignity would be increased by every new accession to mine, took occasion, while I was stealing an hour's sleep, to proclaim me to some visitors as the *Hekim Bashi*, or chief physician to his Majesty. The report soon spread, and when I awoke, a group of Mussulmans were standing round me in most respectful silence. Among them was an old man holding a little child by the hand, to whom he directed my attention. He told his complaints, and addressing me by my new title, asked my advice. John saw my astonishment and whispered a confession of his falsehood. I immediately disclaimed the honour intended for me, assuring my Turkish friends that I was a simple traveller from Frank land. John, however, had already prevented any credit being given to me on this point, by informing them that, to avoid troublesome applications, I was travelling incognito. I consented, therefore, after repeating my disclaimer, to render such aid as was in my power, and began by asking what had been done for the child. The old man went through a statement of the treatment pursued by a Frank physician that had lately resided in the place, one, doubtless, of those European

adventurers who are sometimes to be met with in the interior cities of Turkey, where, with the smallest conceivable capital of medical knowledge, they contrive to gain a decent livelihood, become sometimes the physicians of Pashas, and the talk of all the country round. As the diseases of the interior are generally of the most simple character, I had hoped that I might be of some service to the child; but, upon examination, his malady appeared of too serious a nature to be lightly meddled with. I was, therefore, compelled to acknowledge that my own skill was not competent to prescribe any better course than had been pursued. Finding my patients beginning to multiply, I peremptorily refused to prescribe any farther, except for one old man whose disorder seemed to be within my compass. He complained of acidity of the stomach and heartburn. I advised him to abstain from coffee, which the Turks drink without sugar or milk, and to abjure all unctuous substances. A Turk would almost as readily surrender his life as give up his favourite beverage or abstain from oils and greasy food. When the old man heard my prescription, he turned away without saying a word.

On leaving Baibout the next morning, we crossed a fine bridge, which had been thrown over the river near the town, and which was one of those monuments of religious benefaction so common in Mohammedan countries. The religion requires of every Mussulman possessed of a competency, to devote a portion of his earnings to charitable purposes. The benefactions may be either public or private. In the latter case the charity is confined to the poor and to persons not related to the donor. Nor can it be conferred on any but Mussulmans. Although it is a legal charity, it is not collected by the public authorities, but the performance of the

duty is left to each man's sense of religious obligation. The amount, also, is referred to the judgment of the benefactor. The Koran, however, requires that it be made "with the design of seeing the face of God,"* or, in other words, as a claim upon his mercy in the day of judgment. In this light it is incessantly urged in the Koran upon all good Mussulmans. In the earlier ages of Mohammedanism, the requisition was most rigorously observed, as the remains of noble colleges, bridges, &c. abundantly attest.

But in this, as in every other respect, the religion has greatly declined. A new public edifice is rarely to be met with, either in Turkey or Persia. In both countries the great objects of public beneficence are nearly the same, mosques, medressehs, baths, bridges, and caravansaries. The fountains, however, which are often among the most splendid structures in the cities of Turkey, and at which the weary traveller in the interior often stops to refresh himself, are almost unknown in Persia. The decline of this kind of charity in both countries is not to be attributed entirely to the decline of Mohammedanism, but in part to the increase of poverty and civil oppression in later centuries. Still there remains enough to indicate that even a corrupt religion may tend to the advancement of public prosperity and happiness, especially when, as in the present instance, its best principles are borrowed from Christianity.

We followed the windings of the river for more than twenty miles, through a broad and pleasant valley and between green hill-sides. As we approached its source we began to ascend rapidly, and continued our upward course until we were again on the fresh, cool summits of

* Chap. II.

the mountains and in the region of snow. From the highest of the successive peaks which we passed, the view was the most grand and awful that I had ever witnessed. Before us and far below our feet extended a vast country, traversed by ranges of hills running in every direction and appearing like gigantic fortifications upon an immense plain. Beyond, were lines of loftier heights covered with snow. Behind us rose a tall, bare peak, robed in clouds, whil', from the right, huge black masses were sailing majestically towards us, with a pale sheet of rain, in appearance like dense vapour, let down from the lower edge to the earth, and vivid lightnings darting over their gloomy surface. A perfect stillness reigned around, rendering the scene still more sublime and terrific. While we stood contemplating it in silent awe, suddenly a low, murmuring sound was heard, which seemed to proceed from the approaching cloud. It increased as the cloud advanced, until it grew to a wild howl, when cloud and sound suddenly swept by us with the force of a hurricane, nearly hurling us, with our horses, to the ground. In descending, our guide lost the path, but succeeded at length in leading us by a tedious route to the village of Ashkaleh, where we arrived after a march of twelve weary hours.

This village, though a little place, is worthy of mention as the first stage on the great route from Erzroum to Tocat and Constantinople, and as lying upon the head waters of the Euphrates, here called the Kara Sou, (Black Water.) It has thirty Turkish families; the Armenians, who once formed part of the population, having been carried off, together with most of the Christians in all the villages on the plain of the Kara Sou, by the Russians, in their return from the invasion of 1829. Here, too, I met with the first Kurd that I had ever seen.

He seemed the only active man in the village, and his open, well-formed, though sallow face, gave me an agreeable prepossession in favour of his people. Six or seven Turks came in, in the evening, to smoke our tobacco and drink our coffee. They inquired, as usual, about the wonderful doings of the Sultan, and John repeated all the marvels which he had recounted at Baibout. They were most surprised by his description of a steamboat, and interrupted his story with frequent *Mashallahs.** They had manifested a considerable desire of innovation among themselves, having recently erected a neat little mosque, whose square and erect form appeared very conspicuous among the thirty mud-heaps which they called houses.

On leaving the village we crossed the Kara Sou, which was here rendered fordable by being divided into several shallow channels, and continued along its course over a fine plain which stretches away from its bank. A furious storm of rain stopped our progress at the little hamlet of Ilijeh, (Warm Springs.) The springs from which it derives its name are doubtless those over which Anatolius, General of the eastern armies of Theodosius the Younger, constructed the mineral baths which St. Martin† mentions as having been erected by him in the vicinity of Erzroum. The springs are still improved for the same purpose, though in a more humble manner; the present baths being no more than high mud-walls built around two of the sources. One of these enclosures serves for men and the other for women. The temperature of the water is a little above blood heat, and its taste excited an ungrateful recollection of Epsom Salts.

* *Mashallah*—an exclamation of surprise or admiration, frequently in the mouth of a Turk.

† *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie.* I. 67.

At this village the valley of the Kara Sou expands into the broad plain of Erzroum. Along its circumference and at the foot of the mountains which overlook it, numerous villages are scattered. One, which was faintly visible across the plain, appeared larger than the rest, and white minarets were seen rising above it. It was the city itself. The rain continued pouring all the night, but when we started in the morning, the clouds had retired and hung in heavy white masses about the mountains, while every blade of grass was glistening in the light of the sun. The road to the city was almost impassable from mud, but our eagerness to reach the first resting-place in our journey, urged us on, and we entered the town after a ride of one and a half hours.

Before, however, introducing my reader to the place, I must be indulged in a few general remarks on the country between Trebizond and Erzroum. As the people are generally tillers of the ground, their own state may be learned from the condition of agriculture among them. Cultivation is common in places where the land is good, but the mode of cultivation is of the most primitive and rude kind. The plough is made, sometimes of two and sometimes of three pieces of wood. In the latter case, a piece of timber, pointed at one end, forms the share. In the other end, an upright stake stands for the handle, and from near their point of junction runs a third piece over the share which serves for the shaft. The share penetrates the earth only a few inches, and, wherever I observed it at work, no manure was used. On some of the steep hill-sides near Trebizond, we saw fields of several acres entirely dug up with the spade, and, after this had been accomplished, the whole gone over again with the same instrument, to break and level the clods.

The people themselves appear generally to be on an even footing with their art. They are unclean, poor, and ignorant. Their houses are so thronged with vermin as to make one ready to believe that the land is afflicted with the third plague of Egypt, Exodus, viii., 17, 18. The people seemed to me inferior to those in the Western part of Asia Minor. Most of the Mussulmans, to use a distinction of the country, are not Osmanlees, but Turks, for the former, though Turks in origin and language, do not seem disposed to boast of the fact. The term, *Turk*, is an opprobrious one in their estimation, and is applied by them to the barbarous tribes beyond the Caspian, and to the people of the same race in the Eastern part of their own Empire.

CHAPTER IX.

ERZROUM. JOURNEY TOWARDS MOUSH.

ANTIQUITIES OF ERZROUM—THE MODERN TOWN—TRADE—HOUSES—CLIMATE—POPULATION—NEW MOSQUE—PAST AND PRESENT COMPARED—CHANGE OF PLAN—DETERMINE TO ENTER KURDISTAN—PREPARATIONS AND PRECAUTIONS—CHANGE OF DRESS—UTILITY AND NECESSITY OF IT—MULETEER—FIRST DAY'S JOURNEY—KURDISH GIRL—THE ARAXES—KURDISH TENTS—RECEPTION—MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE—REPAST—THE EGYPTIAN—PRESENTS—MOUNTAINS—PLAIN OF KHEUNNEUS—AROUS—LODGINGS—ILLUSTRATION OF SCRIPTURE—VILLAGERS—ARMENIAN PRIESTS.

ERZROUM—D'Herbelot reports the name of this city to be a corruption of the ancient Arabic name, *Arz al Roum*, Country of the Romans, or, as St. Martin writes it, *Arzen erroum*, Arzen of the Romans, a name which he supposes to have been given to it, to distinguish it from another place in Armenia, also called Arzen. He argues that it is the same with the ancient Theodosiopolis, built about A.D. 415 in honour of Theodosius, the Younger. D'Herbelot adds that it was the last town of the Lower Empire taken by the Saracens. From them the Moguls took it in 1241, when all its inhabitants were killed or led into slavery.

Though an old town it boasts but few antiquities. The walls of the citadel, which embrace only a portion of the modern city, are noble structures. The tower of the citadel, which the Russians deprived of a large clock that formerly rung the hours to the town, affords

from its summit a beautiful view of the city and the green level of the plain spreading out, in length twenty-five miles and in breadth from twelve to fourteen. Here and there may be seen that sweet emblem of repose, the smoke of villages curling idly up into the summer air; immediately beneath the city are the vegetable gardens which supply its market; on another side are the wide-spread habitations of the dead; a gentle eminence on either hand commands the city, while behind and above all, rise the snow-topped mountains.

Amongthe remains of the past the *Tchifteh Minareh*, (Two Minarets,) presents a singular mixture of different styles and uses. The form of the cross which it bears internally and the ranges of apartments on either side, are evidence that it was once a Christian monastery. The two Persian minarets from which it has its name, which have never been finished or are partly fallen to decay, indicate that it has at one time been a place of Mussulman devotion. The door-way is of that Saracenic style of architecture which may be found among the mosques of the capital, and is still the favourite order of Eastern art. The face of one of the abutments from which the minarets rise, bears a double-headed eagle, which speaks of no Mussulman origin that I can trace; while the tomb at the inner extremity is evidently a Mohammedan structure added to the original building. The Russians made a sacrilegious search in this part for ancient treasure and carried away the door of the tomb to adorn a Church in Georgia. The whole edifice is now devoted to a most unholy use, being occupied as an arsenal.

Not far from the Tchifteh Minareh are other remains, which deserve a passing word. Around a large court are ranges of vaults now mostly in ruin. On one side

is a building in the style of the Tchifteh Minareh, showing an eagle on one of the stones and inscriptions in Cufic about the portal. Within is a capacious dome, under which, at the time of my visit, the Pasha was erecting a furnace for casting cannon.

The modern town offers little worthy of notice. The *Oulou Jami*, or Great Mosque, is remarkable for nothing but its size and its gloom. Two or three of the baths are clean and well attended, and the bazars present a respectable appearance. But it is chiefly the position and trade of the city which give it celebrity and importance. It commands the great line of travel to Constantinople from the Eastern portion of the Empire, and is the thoroughfare of all the trade with Persia, whether by the Black Sea or the over land route through Tocat. Few cities of the same fame offer so little in themselves to repay the curiosity of a visitor. Its external appearance is very unprepossessing. The streets, though some of them unusually wide, are, as usual, poorly paved and filthy. The houses are low, constructed of earth or rough stone, with layers of timber inserted in the walls at regular intervals, and presenting a naked and cheerless exterior to the street.

The city stands at an elevation of 5500 feet, according to the observations of the British Consul with the barometer; but estimates from boiling water place it as high as 7000, the water boiling at 200° Fahrenheit. So great an elevation cannot of course enjoy much of the mildness of an humbler position. The climate, indeed, is almost proverbially severe, and even in the middle of June we thought that more temperate nights would have been more comfortable. From the aspect of things we judged that one great occupation of summer was to prepare for keeping warm in winter, for most of the

houses had cakes of fresh dung plastered upon the the walls and spread upon the roofs to dry for fuel.

Some idea may be formed of the extent of the trade, from the fact that there are no less than thirty-six khans in the city, and the custom-house is one of the largest in the Empire. The streets in every part were thronged and bustling. There were to be seen people from almost every quarter, Kurds, Persians, Georgians, Armenians and Turks. The only European residents were those connected with the English and Russian consulates, both of which had been established since the date of the Russian invasion, in 1829. This concourse of strangers gives the city the appearance of greater populousness than the truth warrants. A regular census, (the first of which I had ever heard in Turkey,) had just been taken, which showed the whole number of settled inhabitants to be only 35,000.

Among the curiosities of the city were the foundations of a new mosque, which was the first and the last that I saw in the course of erection in Asiatic or European Turkey. This fact must, I think, on the whole, be regarded as another proof of the progressive decay of Mohammedanism. I know that it may be said, that where the population is, as in Turkey, at best stationary, it is not to be expected that new edifices for worship should be erected. But in answer to this it may be replied, that it is at least to be expected that old ones should be repaired and lost ones replaced—which is far from being the case. The traveller finds in every part of the Empire the ruins of the mosques of former ages, but he seldom meets one newly erected or undergoing repair.

In Constantinople the mosques are generally kept in excellent order, and one might easily form from the fact a wrong judgment with regard to the care of Turks

for their places of worship. Let the same go through the interior, and another picture will meet his eye. He will there see multitudes of these sanctuaries dilapidated and falling to ruin. He will see others neglected and dirty. He will here and there find a memorial of the past in some noble pile crumbling under the burthen of years, and he will ask, 'Where are such memorials now rising, to convince the future traveller that the glory of this present was equal to that of the past?' Those costly monuments of Moslem pride are all, or nearly all, structures of by-gone days, and nothing new appears to be in the future what they now are. I have seen the wild grass growing over the ruins of the famous college of Orkhan, the second Sultan of the Osmanlees; I have seen the renowned medressehs of Bagdad wasting beneath the touch of Time; I have seen hundreds of Mohammedan temples desolate and forsaken; while I have seen no other college or temple rising to take their place.

As I had not proposed before leaving Constantinople so extensive investigations in Turkey as I was afterwards led to pursue, my design was to move directly towards Persia by the commonly travelled route. In the steamer from Constantinople to Trebizond were several Armenians, returning to their homes in Van. From them I learned, that the route from Erzroum to that city by the North of the lake was entirely safe and was often travelled by caravans. This information re-awakened a strong desire that I had formerly felt to see so celebrated a city, and the hope that investigation there might not be altogether useless determined me to turn my steps thither from Erzroum. Upon my arrival at the latter place, not only was the testimony of the Armenians confirmed, but I was assured by inhabitants of the coun-

try, that the region lying along the Southern border of the lake might also be traversed without imminent danger. I concluded, therefore, to pass in that direction and to visit the cities of Moush and Bitlis on my way to Van. By pursuing this plan I should bring my tour in Persia into a better season, should move through a country never visited by a missionary explorer, and enjoy, perhaps, the best opportunity which I could have consistently with safety, for viewing Islamism in a peculiar aspect among the rude mountains of Kurdistan. John at first demurred, but at length consented to accompany me.

From the fact that the route before me had never, to my knowledge, been travelled by a foreigner, rather than from any definite apprehension of danger, I deemed it best to take all the precautions in my power. Mr. Brant, the British Consul, entered into my design with a ready zeal, and Mr. Zohrab, his interpreter, also rendered me very efficient aid. Through their intervention I obtained from the Pasha of Erzroum a *bouyouroultou*, or provincial firman, by which I hoped to secure a safe passage through the districts subjected to his rule. He added, also, a letter to the Pasha of Van, requesting him to show me attention during my stay in his city, and to cause me to be conveyed safely into Persia.

This important preparation being completed, we arranged our baggage, which was all to be carried on a single horse, in such a manner as to avoid the necessity of exposing any part of it upon the road, excepting a poor Turkish apparatus for preparing coffee. I left at Erzroum all the money which was not needed for the journey, taking therefor an order on an English house in Tebriz; the rest I concealed in a belt which I wore next my person. Lastly, I put myself into the complete

array of a Turk, which, excepting in Persia, I never afterwards abandoned. In this way I hoped to escape unpleasant observation on the road, and, what was of more importance, to pass in safety. Whilst tarrying in towns, and villages there would be no need for such precautions, as it was only upon the march, if at all, that danger was to be apprehended. And here I may say, that it was my uniform custom, while sojourning in any place, to introduce myself as an American and a Christian, and to excite inquiries respecting my country and my faith. These were always the first topics of conversation. During my tour, hundreds, I am sure, heard of the New World who had never heard of it before, and most of whom, probably, will never hear of it again.

But I had a higher reason for assuming the native dress. It was absolutely essential to the success of my mission. The expediency of it for comfort's sake, will be at once seen by imagining a Turk to visit our shores and to walk through the streets of our cities in his Oriental robes. The habits of the country, also, render it necessary. In general it is the best suited to the climate, and can be procured with the least difficulty and expense. The traveller can replenish his wardrobe in any city through which he may pass, whereas, if he does not submit to this act of conformity, he must encumber himself at the outset with all he may need during his tour. If his outfit fails, he is reduced to an unpleasant dilemma, unless at last he submits to what his habits and, perhaps, his prejudices have long resisted. The new mode of life which he is compelled to adopt will, also, soon teach him that he has acted unwisely. He must carry his own chairs, or he must practise the native mode of sitting, which requires garments

of more liberal dimensions than the narrow integuments of a European. If he is not prepared for this, he will learn his mistake the first half hour he is compelled to sit cross-legged in his own pantaloons.

But there remain more serious considerations. The habits of the East are fixed. They still bear the same rigid forms which they have borne for centuries. A Turk associates these habits with all that he reveres and all that he loves. With an Oriental, rather than a Mohammedan spirit, he regards those who have them not, as *Barbarians*.* This may arise in part from narrowness of mind, though I am rather disposed to attribute it to that sacred and reverential regard which we all feel for what is old. Be the source what it may, the fact is the same, and it is a very important and instructive one. Whoever would truly learn the genius of Mohammedan institutions, character and religion, must pass the barrier which separates him from intimate intercourse with Eastern men. As a foreigner, with foreign associations attached to his very presence, he is kept at a distance, and can seldom, by the most assiduous efforts, overcome the reserve with which he is met. His intercourse is formal and unprofitable. He knows not what it is to be an Eastern, and he judges of the few indications which present themselves by the unjust standard of his Western habits of thought. If he speaks through an interpreter, the evil is aggravated, for interpreters are often dishonest, and, without a knowledge of his own, he cannot contemplate that perfect picture of the Eastern mind which appears in the language.

* This is the literal meaning of the word *Ajem*, which a Turk applies, not only to Persians, but to any one who is not acquainted with those manners that are to him the only model of good breeding and etiquette.

With a foreign dress, he is always looked upon as a stranger, he is discoursed with as a stranger, and he has himself the feelings of a stranger. He is received, at the best, as an Oriental, in his home-garb, would be received among us.

Such a one would, indeed, be an object of unbounded curiosity and, to himself, of rather vexatious observation. His looks and manners would be closely scrutinized, his foreign speech would be listened to with admiration, but he would be a foreigner. He would carry about with him everywhere, in his outward person, the mark of his foreign origin. He would never become familiar with American institutions, he would never be admitted into the interior of men's minds, no one would speak to him as to one of ourselves, and, if alone, how painful would be the incessantly recurring thought that he was a stranger in a strange land.

A Western in Turkey, appearing as a Western, stands on still less advantageous ground. He is not received into such free communication with Orientals as an Oriental would be with us. Religious prejudice, the naturally reserved disposition of Turks and contempt for his ignorance of Eastern manners, would keep him much farther aloof. If his object, then, is to learn the East, he must become, in all lawful respects, an Eastern. He must know the language, he must wear the dress, he must perfect himself in the manners of an Eastern. In fine, he must act in what is undoubtedly the true spirit of the Apostle's words, *We become all things to all men.* He need not deny his religion; evidently in no circumstances could it be lawful for him to do it. He need not attempt to conceal that he is a foreigner; his speech, indeed, even when he has reached his highest attainments in the knowledge of the language, would at

once betray that. But he must not obtrude his national dissimilarities upon minds most sensitive to such distinctions, nor defeat the great end he has in view, by tenaciously retaining the habits in which he has been trained.

Stimulated by such motives, I had already determined to throw myself as much as possible among the people, and at length completed my design by putting myself into the full costume of a native. All my subsequent experience tended only to convince me that I had acted wisely, and now that my work is done, I unhesitatingly say, that if it has attained in any good degree its object, it has been owing, under divine protection, to my having followed the principles just laid down.

The post establishment was very deficient on the route which I was to travel, being in use only for the occasional transmission of despatches between the governors of the provinces. I therefore engaged a muleteer belonging to Moush, to convey me as far as Bitlis. He was a Turk, by name *Atmajah Oglou, Tchargho*, Tchargho, son of Atmajah. He wore the Turkish dress, which I afterwards found was very common among the Turks of that region, but I did not recognize him as one of them till after our arrival at Moush. In truth, my principal reason for engaging him was the supposition that he was a Kurd.

Thus prepared, I bade farewell to my host, who was one of the few Armenians that had returned from Georgia, and left Erzroum on Friday, the 23d of June. We went out of the town on the road to Tebriz, but soon left it and ascended the mountains to the S.E., passing near the tomb of a Sheikh which is much frequented by the devout Mussulmans of Erzroum. At noon we had reached the masses of snow upon the first summits and

looked down for the last time on the mountain city. The coolness at this height was refreshing. Before us opened a mountainous country covered with verdure, but bare of trees. To the N.E. Hassan Kaleh, the first stage on the road to Tebriz, was faintly discernible. Leaving this point we travelled forward four hours by a path alternately ascending, descending and winding along the face of the mountains. The ground was in most parts covered with short grass, the valleys among these mountains affording fine pasture-ground, on which numerous flocks and herds were feeding. We passed however, no village and met with no sign of cultivation, the whole region exhibiting a primitive, pastoral state.

From these heights we descended into a more level country, beyond which the mountains rose steeper and higher, terminating at the south in the long and snowy range of the Bin Gul Dagh.* To avoid the difficult pass over them we swept round to the east through the valley, and soon came to a more fertile and open spot. The mountains on either side sank into low green hills, and the meadow through which our course lay was well watered and rich in luxuriant herbage.

We stopped for the night at Denizli, the ruins of a Kurdish village, with only a single inhabited house. From this an old Kurd came out, and greeting us with the ordinary salutation of the Mussulmans,† offered us a shelter. Wearied with our long march, we asked for

* *Bin Gul Dagh.* Literally, *Mountain of a thousand lakes*, so called from the numerous small lakes on the summit, which are the sources of several streams tributary to the Euphrates.

† *Selam aleikum*, God give you peace. Mohammed taught his disciples to use this form in saluting each other. It is seldom extended to Christians.

a draught of milk. He replied that the cows were still abroad, and called for some one within to go in search of them. Upon this a Kurdish girl appeared and stepping lightly forward, darted away like a phantom. As she was the first female of her race that I had seen, her appearance excited some curiosity. Her face and feet were bare and her hair was hanging in long braids behind. Her dress was a single white frock bound at the waist. Her form was erect and slender, and her step peculiarly light and graceful. Her face was dark, but pale and expressive, her eyes large and full. In the meanwhile our host conducted us to our lodging-place. In reaching it, we first passed the apartments of the family, then through a large stable, and afterwards through a long alley to a dark room some one hundred feet from the entrance, and all the way under ground. Here we lighted a fire, while our host spread before us a pastoral meal of yoghourt, bread and eggs, and then sat down to share our coffee and pipes.

Before sunrise the next morning we had recommenced our march. The country bore the same features with the latter part of yesterday's ride, until, two hours from Denizli, we came to a small stream. I asked its name. My muleteer, who had crossed it a hundred times, replied, "Aras." Could it be the same Aras that flows into the Caspian? I inquired about its course and length, and he gave such an account of it as left it without doubt that this was the head-waters of the great Araxes of the ancients. Geographers have generally placed the source farther East. I afterwards made inquiries respecting the stream, which confirmed the information of the muleteer. The breadth of the river at the ford was thirty feet and its depth only three. Its current at this point was rapid and its course for a short

distance winding towards the East, after which it flowed off through the plain to the north-east.

We pursued our way for an hour near its banks, and then turned to the South and entered a hilly country between the Bin Gul and a range on our left called the Terktob. After proceeding in this direction, turning gradually eastward, for about two hours, we suddenly descried from the top of a hill a cluster of Kurdish tents in a valley below, looking like black spots sprinkled upon the grass. This first picture of truly Kurdish life that I had seen, brought vividly back the romantic images which I had early drawn from books, and excited a desire to scrutinize it more closely. We descended, therefore, directly towards them and dismounted in front of the first. Some old Kurds standing there bade us welcome and one invited us into the tent. A seat at the inner extremity was offered, and when we had all sat down, those present repeated their salutations. The tents, about twenty in number, were arranged in a line and all were of the same construction. The covering was of a cloth of fine black wool, impervious to the rain. This was supported at the corners by poles five feet high, and, in the centre, by one nearly double that height, giving to the roof a slope in every direction. The interval between the lower edge of the cloth and the ground was filled up, on three sides, by a lattice of light reeds painted in figures. The other side was entirely open. In one of the corners stood the arms of the master of the tent, the curved sword, the spear, and the small round shield.

The news of our coming soon spread among the other tents and brought around us all the men of the party. The boys seated themselves behind, peeping over the shoulders of their seniors, and the women, none of whom

were veiled, surveyed us through the lattice, from the next tent. As each one entered, he seated himself in the circle and exchanged greetings with us. I observed that all their ceremonies were Turkish, and they lavished them with Turkish profusion. I was both surprised and pleased with the perfect etiquette which prevailed, for it was altogether above the demeanor of Turks of the same rank. The more honourable among them sat farther within the tent than the others, and special deference was shown to them. When they spoke, all were silent, and when one of them entered the tent, the company rose and remained standing till he was seated. The same respect was shown to the aged. The company were very sociable without being noisy, and although their curiosity was evidently excited by our appearance, they kept it under proper restraint.

As we were about to depart, they told us that food was preparing and insisted upon our eating with them, to which, as a pledge of amity and good-will, I gladly consented. Two circular wooden *sofras*, or waiters, were laid upon the ground, around one of which we sat with the chief men of the party, while the rest of the company were accommodated at the other. Five or six different dishes were brought, some of which were new to me; all of them, however, were clean and excellently cooked. One of the best consisted of dried mulberries warmed in honey.

Every thing about the tents and the people wore a neater and more thrifty appearance than is often found among the common population of the East. Their numerous flocks were feeding on the hill and herds of horses in the-vale. The men were large and robust, with fine, open, and cheerful countenances. Most of the boys and girls were comely and some of them even

handsome. Among the men I was surprised to find one with the swarthy features of an Arab of the Seïd, or Upper Egypt. His story was, that his father was a native of that country, that fortune brought him to Moush, where he married a Kurdish woman, of which union himself was the offspring. Though of a mingled origin, his colour and features were those of a full-blooded negro.

Before leaving the party we distributed some small presents among them, which, though seemingly to them of inestimable value, were in truth only a few finger-rings and ear-rings of pinchbeck, with bits of glass set in them. At John's suggestion I had procured a large supply of such ornaments before leaving Constantinople, and I often found them of use on such occasions as the present.

Soon after quitting this quiet encampment, we passed the Kurdish village of Aghreven. The houses were standing with open doors, but no one was within. All the inhabitants were spending their summer in the mountains. Having passed the extremity of the Terktob mountains, we came upon the plain of Kheunneus. Here we had the Terktob on the north, the Nemrout, (Nimrod,) with the snowy peak of Khamourpete, on the east and south-east, and the Bin Gul on the south-west. On the plain, a few hours from the Bin Gul, is Kheunneus Kalesi, a small fort with a few houses, where the chief of the district resides. He has under his jurisdiction all the villages of the plain, twenty-eight in number, of which twelve are Armenian and the rest Kurdish. We crossed two small streams, passed one village and stopped at a second, called Arous, where I determined to spend the morrow, which was Sunday.

I could find nothing better than a cattle-house, but,

as all the inmates spent their days in the pasture, I was made welcome to that. In the evening the cattle came in, and we spent a very disagreeable night with them. The day, I, also, preferred to spend abroad, and, finding a tree near the village, passed my Sunday quietly beneath it. It was the first tree which I had seen since leaving Erzroum, and it seemed set in that lonely spot to shelter and refresh a way-worn traveller. The previous day we had looked about noon for one under which we might screen ourselves from the rays of the sun. We could find none, but we came to a solitary rock so high as to afford an effectual shade. I lay under it for an hour during mid-day, unable to think of any thing else than the beautiful comparison of the prophet—*The shadow of a great rock in a weary land.*—ISAIAH XXXII.

The men of Arous wore the tall, white, conical cap of the Kurds and spoke their language, but their features and their manners bespoke another race. They were Armenians. I had come to their village in preference to Kheunneus, to spend Sunday, because they were Christians. They had no Church, but there was a priest among them whom they regarded as a learned and holy man. I sent to him on Sunday morning, inviting him to come and take coffee with me. He came, approaching us with a look of timidity and apprehension, as if he suspected that some evil was plotting against him. He was distinguished from the rest of the villagers, only by a black turban, and an *abba*, or cloak, of the same colour. His demeanor was, like theirs, dejected and cringing. He seated himself at my request, drank the coffee that was offered to him, answered all my questions with an indistinct murmur, and retired without having uttered a word. This is very commonly the

character of the Armenian village priests. They are as ignorant as the people around them, poor and filthy in their persons, and extremely abject in appearance. Their ministrations are confined to the performance of the daily services of the Church, and the parochial care of their parishioners, which consists in baptizing, marrying, and burying. They gain an uncertain and meagre livelihood from parochial fees and the contributions of the villagers.

CHAPTER X.

JOURNEY TO MOUSH. DESCRIPTION OF MOUSH.

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS—YOUNG KURD—THE EUPHRATES—FISH—PLAIN OF MOUSH—BRIDGES—MOUSH—POSITION—INTERIOR—POPULATION—MEDRESSEH—CURIOSITY EXCITED—ARMENIANS—MIRACULOUS BOOK—MONASTERY—ARMENIAN CATHOLICS—KURDS—APPEARANCE—MANNERS—DRESS—TRADE—PRODUCTIONS—THE PASHA—VISIT OF THE RUSSIANS.

WE left Arous on Monday morning and continued to advance Southerly over the uneven surface of the plain, with the range of the Nimrod mountains on our left and those of the Thousand Lakes visible over our right shoulders. At two and a half hours from the village we crossed the Kizzil Tchai, or Red River, a small stream running to the Euphrates. On its bank we met with a party of Kurds, gaily dressed, who were on their way to attend a marriage-festival at Kheunneus. An hour farther on our course we stopped for our morning repast in a green dell, where we found water.

We had hardly seated ourselves before we heard some one hailing us from above, and a horseman immediately descended, followed by a single attendant. The former was a young Kurd in the full dress of his people. He wore a red tunic, reaching to his waist, and white shalvars, the great nether garment of the East. His sugar-loaf cap was bound with a turban of the gayest colours, and in its folds the long tresses of his auburn hair

were twisted. He wore in his girdle a brace of pistols and a dagger, and, hanging from it about his person, were a ramrod, a small powder-horn for priming, a cartridge-case, and numerous little trinkets for the care and repair of his arms. In his right hand was a spear, with a wooden shaft about ten feet long. One end was pointed with iron, that it might be stuck in the ground, and the other was ornamented with a large black ball of light feathers, from the middle of which projected the head of the spear about five inches in length and of a rhombic form. At his back hung a small round shield or targe, intended to be used in single combat with the sword. It was studded with small pieces of brass resembling coin, and was decorated with silken tassels of various colours hanging from the circumference, and a larger one suspended from the centre. Thrusting his spear into the ground, he dismounted, and sitting down by us without ceremony, drew out his bread and cheese, and offered to join meals with us. We accepted the proposal and were at once good friends with him. We soon learned from him that, though his beard was not yet grown, he was the Bey of a village on the plain of Mousb, which we were to pass. We therefore agreed to unite our forces for the way. Before we started two Turks arrived and joined themselves to our party.

As we advanced, the country became more mountainous, the ranges generally running East and West. We passed within sight of several villages perched among the hills. As we rode along, our young Kurd amused himself with brandishing his spear and rushing down upon some one of the party, as if to run him through, then looking round and laughing at his own adroitness, he would point on the steel how deep he could make it penetrate.

The path became more rocky and difficult until we reached the brow of a hill. Here a beautiful plain, covered with trees, suddenly opened upon us far below. Through the midst of it was winding the broad stream of the Euphrates, or as it is known in these regions, the *Mourad Tchai*. The river comes down rapidly from a valley to the N. E. and, making a detour in the plain, receives a stream called the Tchabour, from the West, and flows off through an opening in the hills, at first imperceptible, in a direction West of South. Its breadth before the junction is more than a hundred feet, and that of the Tchabour about fifty. We descended to the plain and forded the latter near its mouth, where it was only four feet in depth. We judged that at this point we had accomplished, from Arous, a distance of about twenty miles.

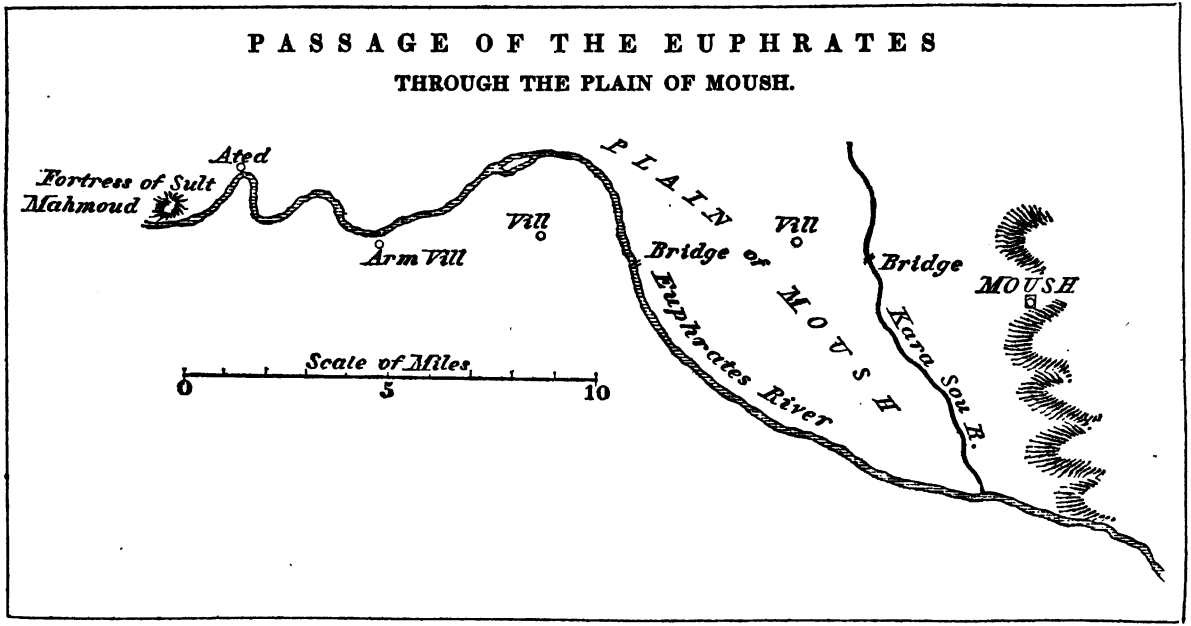
We then kept along the western bank of the Euphrates, through a pleasant valley, but a little broader than the bed of the river. The banks of the stream are low, resembling in some places the borders of a canal. Its surface was sometimes ruffled by the rapidity of its course, and sometimes calm and apparently as motionless as a lake. We travelled through the valley nearly two hours, when we came out upon the plain of Moush, which was before concealed from view by a solitary conical hill standing in the mouth of the valley. This hill has the ruins of a fortress on its summit. The villagers call it *Sultan Mahmoud Kalesi*, the fortress of Sultan Mahmoud. Around this mount the river makes a broad bend to the East, and winding through the plain, turns to the south and west, crosses the plain where it receives the waters of the Kara Sou, passes through an opening in the range of mountains which form the southern border of the plain, and goes off to

the South-West. At one of the windings where the river enters the plain, we came to an Armenian village and there spent the night. On the opposite side was visible another larger village, called Ated. The course of the stream through the plain of Moush and the different localities are presented in the sketch.

As the sun went down our muleteer spread his cloak and performed his prayers twice in succession, to make up for the loss of his afternoon devotions—a mode of reparation sanctioned and recommended by the Koran. The river here is fordable in some places and abounds in fish, one species of which I judged by the description to be the sturgeon. The villagers take very few of them, not knowing, as they said, the art of doing it. They were equally ignorant of their names. The people of Arous were more expert, and had devised a mode of fishing which was new to me. They knead into dough the powder of the black kernels of a poisonous plant,* and then throw bits of it into the water. The fish devour it and soon rise to the surface dead. We found them none the less savoury for this singular mode of catching them.

The next morning we pursued our course over a low rising ground running into the plain, the river lying on our left and the plain expanding as we advanced. The soil along the banks was of a rich black mould and under partial cultivation. We stopped at a village, and with many expostulations and promises obtained a breakfast. After two hours' march we came to the southern brow of the ground over which we had been travelling. The entire plain here opened upon us, extending far to

* Probably the *Nux Vomica*, which Chardin mentions as used for the same purpose in Persia. *Voyages, tome troisième*, p. 44.


PASSAGE OF THE EUPHRATES
THROUGH THE PLAIN OF MOUSH.
Ated
Fortress of Sult Mahmoud
Arm Vill
Vill
PLAIN
Vill
Bridge of Euphrates River
MOUSH
Bridge
Kara Sou R.
MOUSH
Scale of Miles
0
5
10

the East and West. What we had first come upon was only a branch of it. Just below us appeared an ancient bridge over which our path lay. This noble structure was 500 feet in length, and had formerly been sustained by fourteen arches. Six only were still entire, the bases of the others being all that remained of them. Of those which were perfect some were in the curved or Roman style and the others in the pointed or Saracenic. The entire structure had been of hewn stone, with pointed buttresses of the same on the upper side, to break the force of the water. The intervals where the arches had fallen were supplied with timber rudely covered with mud and stones, presenting modern barbarism in singular contrast with ancient magnificence.

After crossing the bridge, our way lay directly over the plain towards the town of Moush. In less than two hours we passed the Kara Sou, or Black Water. Here are the ruins of a second bridge, of a structure similar to the former. Eight arches remain; the rest was entirely gone. Our manner of crossing the river, was an apt illustration of the pertinacity with which the Turks make use of the remnants of antiquity without attempting to supply their decay. We passed over the fragment of the bridge which remained standing, and then, descending, with great hazard to our necks, by the broken extremity, forded the rest of the river, here about forty feet wide. Geographers generally place this river beyond Moush, but we found that we had yet an hour to travel before we reached the town. We passed through the village of the young Kurdish Bey, who had left us the night before, promising to be on the look-out for us, and to give us a breakfast this morning. Seeing no appearance of a welcome as we rode by his door, and having provided against the consequences of forgetfulness on his

part, by securing our breakfast beforehand, we went on quite independent of his hospitality. As we approached the city, cultivation increased, and, in entering the town, we passed through numerous vegetable gardens and vineyards.

The appearance of Moush, when approached from the north, is peculiarly romantic. It stands upon the sides of an eminence, within a deep recess of the mountains, almost entirely encircled and hid from sight by their projecting arms and a slight elevation in front of the opening. The heights above were tall and bare, excepting where patches of snow were still lying undissolved by the summer's sun. The red sides of the hills within and without the bay of the mountains, were covered with vines, and the eminence on which the town itself stands is crowned with a ruined fortress.

But the pleasant emotions excited by the distant view vanish on entering the place. The streets are filthy, irregular, and uneven, with rivulets of dirty water running through them. There are no covered bazars, and the few stalls which bear the name are ill-furnished and mean, without regularity or display. A brawling stream runs down from the mountains, through a deep gorge on the East side of the town, and goes to the Kara Sou. The houses are of the same description with those of Erzroum. The number of poor, insane, and diseased persons is astonishing. Boys and girls are seen running with a single rag, and often entirely naked, through the streets. The Christians appeared to be the most thriving part of the population, but all complained of poverty.

The population of the place is nearly 5000. There are 600 Mussulman families, 250 Armenian, and 50 Armenian Catholic. The Mussulmans do not call

themselves Osmanlees, but Turks, and their language approaches nearer to that of Tebriz than of Constantinople. They have five mosques, ten medressehs, and three schools. One of the mosques was formerly a Christian Church, and bears over the door the date of its conversion to Islamism, 979 of the Hijreh. The principal mosque, though small, has a good external appearance, and is the finest building in the town. I was permitted to enter without scruple. Several worshippers were engaged at their devotions, though it was not the hour for prayers.

An old Mussulman, in answer to my inquiries, assured me that books in Kurdish were to be found in the medressehs, and I visited the principal one in quest of them. I did not then know that the Kurdish was an unwritten language, and hoped to add something to my stock of information by the search. None, of course, were to be found. The *muderiss*, or professor, informed me that all their text-books were in Arabic, from which he translated into Turkish and Kurdish, a part of the students being Kurds. There is no professional scribe nor seller of books in the town, and the chief medresseh has only two professors. Many of the Turks wear the Kurdish dress. I lodged, during my stay, in the house of one of the most respectable among them, and my room was constantly thronged with Mussulman visitors.

Our coming excited a great stir in the town. Our dresses being after the fashion of the capital, every one knew us to be from Stamboul. Crowds collected as we passed through the streets and gazed after us until we were out of sight. Various conjectures were started to account for our visit. Some imagined that we were officers of the Sultan in search of recruits; others thought that our visit had some political design; and others that

it was likely to affect the trade of the place. Either character was an unpropitious one, and I hastened to dispel the suspicions by going freely into the bazars, sitting with the sellers in their stalls, and conversing with any whom I met.

The Armenians have five churches and fourteen priests. One of the churches called the Church of the *Keuk Vedavend*, or Church of the Forty Steps, is said to be thirteen hundred years old. It stands on an elevated site overlooking the valley of the small stream which runs by the town. The approach to it is by a flight of forty steps, from which it receives its name. We found there four priests, and a school of twenty-five boys, who were reading their lessons upon the flat gravestones in front of the church. We asked for relics, whereupon one of the priests conducted us to a small upper room, and taking a bundle from a niche in the wall, began to open. One by one, twenty-five silk handkerchiefs were unfolded, when a large volume appeared. This the priest took and reverently kissing, opened. It was the New Testament, beautifully written on parchment in Armenian characters. We inquired its origin and were told it was a mystery. When the Church was built, the book had been found there and had been carefully preserved from that time to the present. It had, they said, the power of working miracles, and many instances were known of the sick having been restored to health by laying it upon them. My Mussulman guide was appealed to for the truth of the assertion, and, to my surprise, acknowledged that Mussulmans even, had tested its healing efficacy. As the priest was about to return the book to its place, an old man bowed with infirmities pressed eagerly forward, and seizing it in his hands, kissed it and rubbed his aged

head upon it. May the day speedily arrive when all the poor and despised Christians of the East shall have this blessed book in their possession, and draw from it those spiritual truths which heal and purify the soul.

Six hours south-west from Moush, among the mountains, is the monastery of Tchangeuree, a famous place of pilgrimage to the Armenians. It is the same with that which St. Martin speaks of as existing in this region, under the name of *The Monastery of S. Garabied, or St. John the Baptist.* It is at present the seat of a Bishop, and the brotherhood number one priest and eight monks.

The Armenian Catholics, or Papal Armenians, throughout this region, are called Franks, from their connection, doubtless, with a foreign Church. They have in Moush a priest, but the Church in which they formerly worshipped has been destroyed through the influence of the Armenians. Three of the villages on the plain of Moush are also peopled by them, in one of which they have three priests, in another two, and in another one.

No Kurds are resident in the town, but great numbers of them are found in the streets. They come chiefly from the region of Diarbekir as summer approaches, and spend the warm season in the mountains around Moush, gaining a poor subsistence from their flocks, and a scanty para by bringing yoghourt and wood to the town for sale. Their women are poorly clad, and their small children, for the most part, are quite naked. The men appear in the streets armed with a sword and the small round shield which they constantly wear about them, and followed by their women and girls bearing burdens. Nothing can present a more wretched picture than these females. They are poorly dressed and filthy. They

go bending beneath their loads, and their faces, always unveiled, wear the deepest impress of misery. The countenances of the men were the most ferocious and brutal that I have ever seen. They were mostly of a middle stature, with stout and broad frames. Their faces were thin and dark, the nose hooked, and the eye black and merciless. I have never beheld so fiend-like an expression of countenance as they assumed when we appeared among them. They seemed to regard us as having come with some evil intent, instead of a friendly and benevolent purpose.

Several of a more gentle stock came to see me. I was much struck with the strong resemblance of features which prevailed among them—the long, regularly formed, and rather unexpressive face, the dull eye, the yellow, gipsy complexion. Their features and their speech were soft and mild, and nothing indicative of energy appeared. One, a son of a Pasha, came twice, sat long, smoked, and said nothing. Another, a merchant from Diarbekir, complained of the movements of the Sultan against his people and could not be persuaded that he designed their good.

The common dress of the Kurds of better rank whom I saw at Moush, consisted of the red tunic, the large white shalvars and the tall cap of felt, bound with party-coloured shawls.

The trade of Moush is with Bitlis, Erzroum, and Diarbekir; the latter place being distant four days by a road over the mountains, which, I was told by several who had travelled it, could be passed without much hazard, and ten days by the circuitous but safer route through Palou and Kharpout. Five hundred caravan horses are owned in the town, but are employed chiefly in trade originating elsewhere. The place has no manufactures

of importance. Its staple is tobacco, which has some celebrity in the immediate region, but is, in truth, of inferior quality. Fruits are quite abundant, though not of a superior kind. Such are pears, apples, peaches, and cherries of different sorts. Grapes are the principal fruit, and some wine is made by the Christians. There is but one bath in the town, which is dark, filthy, and so thronged with vermin that we found ourselves in a much worse condition when we issued from it than when we entered. There is only a single khan, which is also small and mean. Winter continues five months and the summer is hot. During the two days which I spent there, the heat was so intense at mid-day that I could not venture abroad. Fuel for the winter is brought from the mountains, and the bodies of small trees stripped of their bark, which are used for rafters, are a considerable article of traffic between the town and the villages, each one selling at the time of my visit at the value of a dollar. I found current in the city the coin stamped by the Pasha of Bagdad, of which the smallest piece was half the value of a *para*, or about half a mill.

The *Sanjak*, or province, of Moush includes 600 villages, of which 75 or 80 belong to the same district with the town. The whole number of Kurdish families in the province is said to be 5000. The province itself is ruled by a Pasha of the second rank, who holds his place under the Pasha of Erzroum. The office, however, has been hereditary in the same family, and that a Kurdish one, for two centuries. The present incumbent, Emin Pasha, was spending the warm season in the mountains, and I therefore, lost the opportunity of seeing him. He has, for his summer and winter residences, two palaces situated without the town, both guarded by well-made walls with small bastions.

During the season of the Russian invasion, a detachment of the army came hither and sat down before the town. A party of the officers entered and surveyed the city without resistance. The inhabitants, however, suffered no injury or ill-treatment. Every thing that was needed was amply paid for, and the people seemed to have retained a grateful recollection of their invaders.

CHAPTER XI.

JOURNEY FROM MOUSH TO BITLIS.

DEPARTURE—PLAIN OF MOUSH—MARNIK—ARMENIAN PEASANTRY—VILLAGES—HOUSES—PEOPLE—CHURCHES—ROBBERS—RIDE TO BITLIS—KHANS—APPROACH TO THE TOWN.

WE left Moush on the morning of the 29th of June, and turning from the southerly direction which we had hitherto pursued, moved eastward along the base of the lofty range which bounds the plain on this side. For the first three miles the declivities on our right were covered with rich vineyards, while the soil on the heights above them appeared barren and dry. Three hours distant from the city their character changed, and the summits and sides appeared clothed with the verdure of unbroken forests.

Our way lay the whole day over the plain, which was itself the greatest wonder of the scene. Although we started far from its western extremity we did not reach its eastern border till the next day. Its length cannot be less than forty miles, and the whole distance is an almost perfect level. It supports not much less than a hundred villages, most of which are Armenian and within a day's ride from Moush. In this respect the town is one of the most advantageous positions for a missionary station that can any where be found, especially when we consider that there are besides, numerous villages scattered in other directions among the moun-

tains. Those of the plain, harbour during the winter, a large number of Kurds, who come down and live upon the Armenians. Some of them are large, thriving and unusually clean. One, called Hass Keui, through which we passed at a distance of about nine miles from Moush, has three churches, and was one of the most neat and flourishing villages I remember to have seen in Turkey.

Although the population of the plain is large, it appeared capable of sustaining a much larger one. Extensive tracts lay uncultivated. The soil appeared fertile, and the less productive portions might furnish pasturage to even more numerous herds than we saw scattered in every direction over its surface. Four hours from Moush we forded the Kara Sou, here, as before, a muddy stream about four feet deep. It runs through no valley but has worn its devious way through the easy soil of the plain, and, from the unstable character of its banks, is constantly changing its channel.

We alighted at 3 P.M. at Marnik, an inconsiderable Armenian village. The *Kiahya*, or village-chief, was abroad tending his flocks, and his *Kizir*, or deputy, showed little disposition to help us to a lodging-place. We undertook therefore to search for ourselves, and walking among the houses, soon lighted upon a vacant one belonging to the Kiahya himself. We immediately took possession, and before the owner arrived had it swept and furnished, a process which consumed but little time, as it consisted of only one apartment, and the furniture with which we provided it was no more than a few handfuls of fresh grass with our cloaks thrown over it. The Kiahya could not turn us out of our lodgings, but seemed determined that we should not be comfortable in them. In vain we assured him that it was

our custom to pay for all we had. These poor, oppressed villagers are never so incredulous as when one talks of being kind to them. No one would do any thing for us until the compensation was actually in his hands. There was no water in the village and we were compelled to hire a man to bring some from the river. Fire to prepare our coffee and a dish of yoghourt with bread for our supper, were obtained only after as much negotiation and delay as if the demand were going to exhaust all the resources of the village. When, however, our coffee was ready, the Kiahya and half the population evinced no reluctance to partake of it.

This is the last Armenian village before reaching Bitlis, all the rest being Kurdish. It may not be amiss, therefore, to say something here of the general character of the Armenian peasantry along this route. Their villages may be described in nearly the same words which Xenophon used respecting them 2200 years ago. "Their houses were under ground. In them were goats, sheep, cows and fowls with their young;" and, if it had not been summer, I might have added as he does, "All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder." The houses, however, are not properly subterranean, in the common sense of the term. They are generally made by excavating the earth and raising a wall of loose stones to the required height. Trunks of trees are then laid across for rafters and covered with branches. Then the earth is piled on until the whole is covered and the fabric attains a semi-globular shape. Sometimes the whole is built upon the surface, but, in both cases, the external appearance is that of a bare mound of earth. As the traveller approaches one of these villages, he discerns nothing at first but an apparent unevenness in the ground. Soon the rounded tops become

distinguished. These in summer are covered with cakes of manure formed by the hand and drying for the winter fire, a feature which gives the whole at a distance the appearance of a magnificent collection of dung-heaps.

The houses have generally two apartments, one for the family and another more interior for the cattle. These are almost entirely without furniture and are not remarkable for cleanliness. Sometimes there is a rude fire-place, or a hole in the ground which answers the same purpose, the smoke being of too little importance to have special provision made for its egress, excepting a small aperture through the centre of the roof, where, at the same time, a few rays of light seize the opportunity to struggle in. On the plain of Moush many of the houses have a pole on the top, which supports the nest of a stork.

The villagers are mostly herdsmen. They have the buffalo, but of a species unknown in America, the cow, horse, ass and goat. They subject the cow to burdens. A man's property is estimated by his herds. The produce, yoghourt, cheese and milk, furnish the chief articles of food. The villagers are poorly clad, timid and servile in demeanour, and their faces are unintelligent and spiritless. They do not appear the same race with the same people in Constantinople, or even in the cities of the interior. In some of the villages which suffer most from the Kurds they wear the aspect of deep misery, and one often wonders at the degradation which can endure such a position without an effort to change it. They are extremely ignorant and unclean in their persons and their houses. The women are especially ugly and filthy, and their domestic condition is as evil as can well be imagined. They are servilely treated, brutish, idealess, of

peevish, complaining tempers, and doing no service without a murmur. They have in many of the villages the care of the herds besides their domestic labours. Both men and women are generally unwilling to give lodging or food, or do it in so slow and sullen a manner as to render their hospitality hardly endurable. There are some exceptions to this picture, especially in the large villages. In some I have been cheered by the sight of domestic industry, cleanliness and thrift; in some I have been cordially received. But such exceptions are rare.

In all the villages the church is the most prominent building, and the only one erected above ground in a regular manner. Generally they are small and simple edifices constructed of square stone with a sloping roof. They are often venerably old and mantled with wild weeds growing from the chinks. They stand amidst moss-clad grave-stones, the last and only memorials of those who once worshipped within their walls.

As we were partaking of our hard-earned meal at Marnik, the Kiahya came in, and standing silently before us, drew a sigh so long and deep as to attract our attention and induce us to ask the cause. He looked timidly around him and then informed us that one of the villagers, having gone into the mountains in the morning, had been found by the Kurds and basely murdered. This information tended in no degree to allay the apprehension which the uncertain character of the country through which we were travelling had excited. An incident also had happened during the day which rendered us more than usually sensitive to evil reports. Several hours from Moush and in a desolate place, we were stopped by a party of these fierce mountaineers. When they first discovered us they were scouring the plain in another direction, but, as soon as

they caught sight of our party, they changed their course and made directly for us. The movement threw our muleteer into great terror. He suddenly ordered us to draw up into a body and to move forward slowly, while he hastened to meet the advancing horsemen. A warm parley ensued. The party eyed us keenly as we approached. My spirits sank very perceptibly when I encountered the same ferocious looks that I had seen in Moush. The conversation between the muleteer and the horsemen became more earnest, but, being in Kurdish, we could understand nothing, excepting, by their looks and gestures, that it related to us. The poor muleteer, who had served us most faithfully from the first, looked as if he were upon the rack. He succeeded, however, by what arguments I know not, in effecting his object, for, after some delay, we were suffered to proceed in safety. The Kiahya's story revived the recollection of the adventure, and, as if this were not enough, I began to feel some self-reproach for having undertaken the journey. John too became gloomy, called himself a fool for having exposed his life for the paltry consideration of monthly wages, and wished himself in Constantinople. All this induced a fit of loneliness, and for the first time since my journey began, I lay down upon my grass-couch with a heavy heart.

How healing is sleep! How repulsive of care are the bright beams of the morning! John rose a new man and I found in the protection of the night something still to be grateful for. My cheerfulness was a little dampened by another contest with the Kiahya for yoghourt and eggs, and by the unpleasant duty of reprimanding John for repaying the incivility of one of the villagers with a blow. We started, however, in tolera-

bly good humour. In a quarter of an hour we again forded the Kara Sou and, six miles farther on, came to its source, a little pond of clear and excellent water issuing from a circular hole in the centre, which our muleteer affirmed to be unfathomable. The plain terminates at this extremity in a low rising ground, where we passed a large Kurdish village called Noshem, pleasantly situated in the midst of trees. Here resides the Ayan of all the Kurdish villages in the vicinity, of which we had already passed several. No habitations appeared beyond. Our way was over uneven ground, winding gradually round to the South and descending at length into a deep valley, on the opposite side of which the mountains rose in tall and bald peaks, preserving still the general direction of East and West. We kept along the edge of this valley, until we met a caravan drawn up in a convenient spot, where we dismounted and were soon seated with the drivers at a joint-stock dinner, our coffee being accepted in return for bread and cheese.

In the course of the day we passed four old and deserted khans of an ancient and solid architecture. The principal one was built of hewn stone with round towers or abutments at the angles and sides. It was in the Saracenic style and had doubtless been erected many ages back, for Time had now decorated its walls with green tresses waving from every gaping chink. A stone fountain, which still furnished refreshing water, stood before it, and a merry cascade played near by. We penetrated deeper and deeper among the mountains as we advanced, and in one place passed through a narrow passage cut twenty feet deep in the rock. Nothing was visible but the barren and desolate peaks which

rose in gloomy majesty around us, when the sight of verdure suddenly burst upon us. As we descended yet deeper into the ravine, trees and gardens appeared, and we entered, before we were aware of it, the beautiful city of Bitlis.

CHAPTER XII.

BITLIS.

ARRIVAL—INTERVIEW WITH THE GOVERNOR—MY HOST—THE BANKER—SITUATION OF THE TOWN—BUILDINGS AND STREETS—TRADE—FRUITS—EVENING SCENE—VISIT TO THE ARMENIAN BISHOP—MOSQUE—ADVENTURE—MEDRESSEH—POPULATION—MANNERS—ARMENIANS—KURDS—CHARACTER OF THE MOUNTAIN KURDS—DEVIL-WORSHIPPER—GOVERNMENT—ANTIQUITIES—REGRETS—ARMENIAN HOSPITALITY.

THE kindness of the British Consul at Erzroum had provided me with a letter to a wealthy Armenian of Bitlis, and, on entering the town, I made my way directly to one of the principal khans, with the hope of finding him there. The crowd which pressed upon us as we dismounted, was so great, that we could not stir to the right hand nor to the left. I inquired for the merchant, and he soon appeared, but when he heard that the letter which I had brought was an introduction to his hospitality, he professed to know nothing of the friend from whom I came recommended. Finding the crowd increase and their curiosity becoming rather troublesome, I returned the letter to my pocket and asked to be conducted to the Bey of the city, who, I accidentally heard, was in one of the rooms of the khan. In a few minutes I was in his presence. He sat in one corner of the room, gaily dressed in the Kurdish costume. His whole apparel was white, and his peaked cap was bound with shawls of the liveliest colours. He was young, with a fine open face and a good form. He saluted me grace-

fully as I entered, and pointed to a seat near him. Pipes and coffee were brought, and he began by asking some common-place questions as to my country, name, &c. He was more curious, however, to know my real design in travelling and pressed the question with considerable importunity. I told him, in plain terms, that my object was to see different people and countries, and to observe manners, characters, and religions. He could not understand it — an Oriental never can understand the motive of one who travels either for information or pleasure. I have sometimes heard Turks speak of the locomotive propensity of the English as a species of insanity. The Bey was not satisfied, and asked what had brought me into so strange a place as Kurdistan. I replied that its very strangeness was my motive, that I wished to see what nobody else had seen. He was not contented and grew suspicious. Finding that nothing else would avail, I intimated that I was travelling with proper credentials, and directed John to exhibit the Firman of the Sultan. It was received by his secretary, who opened it and offered it to the Bey, pronouncing at the same time the single word, "*Mahmoud.*" The Bey, instead of receiving it with the customary demonstrations of respect, waved his hand contemptuously in token of refusal. I then drew forth the bouyouroultou of the Pasha of Erzroum, and handed it to the scribe. When the Bey heard what it was, he ordered it to be read, and, at the close, drawing himself up, made some remark in Kurdish to the crowd who had gathered about the entrance. The meaning, of course, I could not understand, but the tone and expression of face which accompanied it, showed that it was of a bold character. The bouyouroultou, however, had its desired effect. The Bey added in Turkish that I must be provided for, and looking round upon the crowd who

thronged the entrance, added, "We must assign him to some one who is able to show him proper attention," and then, as his eye fell on the Armenian to whom I had brought the letter, "M ——, will you receive him as a guest?" My Armenian, laying his hand upon his heart, professed himself all zeal to comply with the wishes of the Bey, and, turning to me with an equivocal smile of welcome, requested me to follow him. I did so, with a secret feeling of vexation at being thus unceremoniously thrust upon his reluctant hospitality, but I endeavoured to console myself with the thought that I was an instrument of justice to punish him for his parsimony. When we had arrived at his house, he conducted me to a balcony looking out upon a garden and shaded with magnificent fruit-trees. Here carpets and cushions were spread for us, and we were invited to repose. The motive for forgetfulness being now removed, my host's memory suddenly revived, and I delivered him the letter which I had brought for him. Though in Armenian, he could not read it himself, but, with the aid of his son, contrived to make out a lame interpretation, which gratified him so much that he afterwards showed the letter to all his friends.

In the evening, another Armenian, the banker of the Bey, came in to make our acquaintance. He welcomed us to Bitlis with the warmest cordiality, lavished upon us compliments in overwhelming profusion, made the most unbounded offer of his services, and concluded by insisting upon our being his guests on the morrow. I hardly knew to what to attribute this profuse kindness, but I was very grateful to meet with so warm a friend, and began to feel quite at home. The next morning he called again, but, alas, how changed! There was no welcome, no compliment, and the invitation for the day

seemed entirely forgotten. The melancholy truth at last came out, that our new friend had come to us the evening before from the midst of his nightly potations, and it was under their influence that he had made all the fair speeches which the soberness of the morning had dissipated.

Bitlis cannot fail to interest and surprise a stranger at first sight. Its picturesque situation among the mountains, and the singular internal appearance which the peculiar construction of its buildings gives it, make it entirely unlike most other Eastern towns. The mountains form three deep valleys, which come down from the north, south-east and west, to a junction where the city stands, extending its arms up into each of them. Three little streams, following the same course, descend, unite, and flow off together in one river emptying into the Tigris, which is said to be twenty-four hours distant. The streets of the town run in terraces along the steep sides of the valleys, and the passenger in looking up is often surprised to see houses and walls above his head. Most of the houses have gardens attached to them, which give to the city, from some points of view, the appearance of a paradise in the midst of bare and verdureless mountains. The mosques, houses, garden walls, and every other structure about the city, are built of a fine kind of sand-stone, with which the region abounds. It is cut into cubic blocks for building, and imparts to the city an air of remarkable regularity and solidity. In some houses the interior as well as the exterior walls are of this same stone. The streets of the city are ill-paved, though something better might be expected where so cheap and excellent materials for paving abound. The position of the town renders many of the streets steep and difficult. In riding through them I was sometimes com-

pelled to dismount, in order to make an ascent. The bazars are extensive, covered, and well filled. They are built of stone, and the different parts of the interior show some management in the separate disposition of the various kinds of merchandize and trades.

The trade of the city is with Persia through Van, with Erzroum, Diarbekir, Mossoul and Bagdad. The road to Mossoul is a dangerous one of eighty hours, or fifteen days. Jizireh is distant forty-eight hours, Diarbekir the same, Bagdad 220 and Busra 300. These are the estimates which I received from good authority in the place, but I cannot vouch for correctness in a matter where it is so difficult to procure authentic information. Raw cotton is brought from Persia, and cotton cloths are manufactured in the town. The other principal articles of trade are woollens, tobacco and gall-nuts. There are large dye-houses and as many tanneries in the place. Rakee is distilled only for the consumption of the city, which amounts to sixty okkas, or about 150 pounds, daily.* Fish are brought in considerable quantity from the lake of Van and salted. Gum Arabic is a large article of trade, 15,000 okkas, intended chiefly for the European markets, being annually carried away. The city has seven khans, two of which are exclusively for merchants, and the trade employs 200 caravan horses owned in the place, besides a large number owned elsewhere. The streams which run through the valleys supply no less than thirty-two grist-mills, and are crossed by as many bridges of stone. I met in Persia with a gentleman who had once passed through Bitlis, as bearer of dispatches from the ambassador at Tehran to the Turkish camp at Diarbekir. He added to my notes on Bitlis,

* In the East, liquids as well as solids are sold by weight.

a fact in which, as an Englishman, he was probably more interested than myself. There are, he said, in the town, twenty-five butchers' stalls where beef is sold. If the statement is correct, it is a very remarkable one to be recorded of an Eastern city.

The gardens of the town abound in a great variety of excellent fruit, among which are the apple, pear, mulberry, cherries and grapes of different kinds, the quince, apricot, peach, different species of melons, the fig, pomegranate, filbert, walnut and several others of which I had never before heard even the names. The market was well supplied with early fruits and vegetables, among the latter of which the cucumber was very abundant. The inhabitants boast the salubrity of the climate and the remarkable longevity of the people. I was disposed to believe them, for, during my own stay, the days were not immoderately warm, and the nights, which I spent in the open air, were remarkably calm, serene and pure. The robust and healthful appearance of the men, and the comeliness and fresh hue of the children also attested the genial character of the climate.

I spent the day in visiting places and persons, and the night in quiet repose upon the balcony. As I was sitting there one evening, enjoying the gentle calm and stillness of the hour, I heard distant music and a song, which gradually approached the house, and at length ceased before the gate. Soon after, our old friend the banker appeared upon the balcony, followed by two or three companions and a train of musicians and singers. He seated himself familiarly by my side and ordered the music and song to commence, while our host hastened away to prepare an entertainment for his guests. Our banker was even more profuse in his compliments and offers of service than on the evening of our arrival. He

particularly pressed upon me the use of his horses in my perambulations about the town. Thinking that a compliance would be the most effectual lesson for him, as well as conduce greatly to my own comfort, I accepted the offer on the spot, promising to send for them the next morning. When morning came, the banker had as before quite forgot the events of the evening, and appeared mortified upon being reminded of his promise. He permitted the horses to be taken away by the servant whom I sent for them, but was afterwards more cautious in his words.

I availed myself of this new facility to visit some of the more remote parts of the town, and, first of all, went to pay my respects to the Armenian bishop. The church where he resided was situated far up one of the valleys. There was nothing of peculiar interest about it, excepting that it had a bell, a privilege which I had supposed was granted only to the church of the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin. The Bishop himself did not know how to account for the distinction, excepting from the remoteness of the place and its position within the borders of Kurdistan. The circumstance, though a slight one, indicated an extraordinary degree of religious freedom. Mussulman bigotry has long since deprived the churches of the East of the poor privilege of using bells, and to the same cause is, doubtless, to be attributed the generally plain and unpretending exterior of the churches themselves. It was delightful to witness a portion of the oppressed and scattered Armenians enjoying here, within the ancient borders and among the noble mountains of their father-land, something of the immunities of freeborn Christians.

We found the Bishop seated upon a carpet under the trees of a garden adjoining the church. He would have

arisen, with the aid of his servants, to receive us as we approached, if we had not hurried forward to prevent him. "I am old," said the venerable man, slowly passing his trembling hand over his silvery beard. The Armenians say that he is a hundred and twenty years of age. He spoke, in feeble tones, of some of the events of his long life, while we sat by him on the carpet. He had formerly exercised the Episcopal office in Constantinople, but for the last twenty years had been resident in Bitlis. He gave me several items of information respecting his people, which will be found scattered about in other places, as occasions may call them out. While we were conversing, two or three of his presbyters came in, and, after making their obeisance, remained standing in reverent silence before him. This deep respect appeared to be both appropriate and impressive. I have often witnessed it elsewhere in Turkey. Though a peculiarity perhaps, no one, I think, will be disposed to account it one of the *corruptions* of the Eastern Churches.

After bidding adieu to the Bishop, I visited the principal mosque, situated near the centre of the city. The interior was dark and gloomy, and offered nothing of interest. I had entered without any attempt at disguise, and as the servants who accompanied me were Christians, I supposed that I should myself be recognized as such. Just as I was retiring, however, the Imam came in, and stepping up to John, who stood near the door, demanded, in a furious tone, whether I were a Mussulman. John adroitly replied, by asking in return, whether they admitted any besides Mussulmans to the mosque. "No," was the prompt reply. "Why do you ask then," retorted John, "whether *he* is a Mussulman? If he is one, your question is impertinent. If he is not one, why

have you admitted him?" The dexterity of the reply raised a laugh from the crowd at the door at the expense of the Imam, who, after pausing for a moment to comprehend the logic of it, apologized, by saying that a Giaour had entered the mosque two or three years before, and he was unwilling that such an event should happen again. While this altercation was going on, I was engaged within, and was not aware of what had transpired, until John afterwards explained it to me.

While I was surveying the mosque, an invitation was sent to me by one of the teachers to visit the medresseh, situated immediately in the rear. It was small, consisting, as usual, of a low range of buildings around a square court. The institution had five teachers. One was engaged in giving a lesson in penmanship to a class of young men. Another was lecturing, in a recess opening on the court, to a single pupil who sat almost in contact with him. The master was absorbed in his subject, and took no notice of us, while the pupil was evidently undergoing a severe conflict between respect for his teacher and curiosity concerning the strangers present. His eye would now fix with reverent attention upon the lecturer, and now wander stealthily away to observe what was passing in the court. There are thirty-two mosques and eight medressehs in Bitlis, of which those now described are the principal.

The population of the city is estimated at 2000 Mussulman and 1000 Armenian families. As the same estimate was given me by all of whom I inquired, I have no doubt that it is nearly correct. In general, however, my reports of population, although collected with great care, must be regarded only as approximations to the truth. The want of a regular census in the East renders perfect accuracy impossible. There are, also, in

Bitlis fifty families of Jacobites, who have a church and two priests. These are probably all the Christians of the Jacobite Church to be found in the northern regions of Kurdistan. The manners of the people of Bitlis are more free and gay than is common in Turkish towns. As I sat in my balcony I could often hear the sound of music and the voice of merriment breaking upon the stillness of the evening. This gaiety, however, is mingled with no extraordinary refinement of manner; on the contrary, one is often annoyed by an indelicacy extremely offensive. I was astonished, on awaking the first morning after my arrival, to find all the male part of the family assembled on the balcony to see me dress, and my confusion was not a little increased on perceiving that the female portion had stationed themselves, for the same purpose, behind the lattice which separated the balcony from the inner apartments of the house. When I ventured to remark upon these and other such like novelties, the universal apology was, "What else can you expect? This is Kurdistan."

I have nowhere found the Armenians more respected and influential than in Bitlis, and consequently have seldom found them more intelligent and truly respectable. They have eight churches and four priests. Each of the churches is, in truth, a monastic establishment, and the number of monks is very considerable. The churches which I visited were all so dark that I could distinctly see nothing which they contained. Two or three of them were large, with vaulted roofs supported by stone columns, and walls covered with paintings. Connected with one of them was the only Armenian school in the city, containing two hundred pupils.

There are no Kurds permanent residents in the place, although many come from the mountains and find a

ome there in the winter. They also appear in the .eets in summer, but I saw less of them than in Moush. As I was sitting with my host one afternoon in a little bower in the garden, formed by an overarching vine, an old Kurd from the mountains entered. He was bent with age and infirmities, but wore the common armour of the mountaineer, and his fierce little eye seemed never at rest. He was the owner of large herds and flocks in the mountains. The account of his possessions given me by my host, almost equalled the inventory of Job after his affliction. He had come to conclude a contract with the Armenian for the partial sale of a mare, of which the latter was to receive a certain proportion of the foals. When the terms were settled, the Kurd took the hand of the Armenian, and solemnly swore by Allah faithfully to perform his part of the contract. This mode of concluding bargains illustrates many passages and allusions of Scripture.

The character of the mountain Kurds, according to all the information which I could gather concerning them, was agreeable with my own impressions. Their life is simple and pastoral. In the towns they profess themselves Mussulmans, but in the mountains they live without religion. Feuds and quarrels are frequent among them, and often end in bloodshed. Mutual confidence is almost unknown, and they always wear their arms for fear of each other. It is from them alone that the danger of travelling in these parts arises. Yet they are not a brave people, nor have they any of the high and manly qualities I have observed in other Kurds. Their robberies are dastardly affairs. They seldom attack armed travellers, except in very superior numbers. They assault, more commonly, peaceful caravans, or defenceless villages. All the villages from Erzroum to

Bitlis, and from Van to Salmas are more or less exposed to them. They are generally looked upon by the inhabitants of the cities with great aversion.

Another strange character whom I met at Bitlis, was a Yezidee, or devil-worshipper, of Mesopotamia. He was a farrier, and being in the employ of my host, occasionally made me a visit, and sometimes ate with me. I endeavoured to glean something from him respecting his religion, but, although he received my inquiries with good-humour, he could be induced to make no confessions. I observed nothing singular in his habits, besides a practice of holding his little cup of wine with both hands. I did not, at the time, suppose it to be anything more than an awkward habit of his own, but I afterwards found, in Mesopotamia, that the same was a universal practice of the Yezidees. Their great reverence for every thing Christian is well known, and this custom may have arisen from a superstitious fear of spilling upon the ground a liquid used in a Christian sacrament.

The Bey of Bitlis is himself a Kurd, and a brother of the Pasha of Moush, within whose province the city falls. The manner in which he received me shows with how free a spirit he holds his authority. He seemed, indeed, more like an independent chieftain, ruling in his own hereditary right, than a governor deriving his power from another. The same spirit prevails among the people. The name of the Sultan seldom reaches their ears. Retired within their own mountains, they think of no other country or ruler but the city they live in and the Bey who governs it. This indeed, to some degree, is Eastern feeling everywhere. The Turk has no name for patriotism. His local attachments seldom reach beyond his own village or town. One of the

greatest evils of the late Sultan's reform was the ruthless manner in which these attachments were violated, and peaceful villagers were hurried away to recruit regiments in distant parts of the Empire.

Bitlis offers some interesting proofs of its own antiquity. Fragments of stone, with remains of sculpture upon them, are seen in the walls of houses and gardens. One which I saw bore the figures of two lions rampant. The stranger is shown an ancient and deserted medresseh in the old style of Mussulman architecture, the work, evidently, of the same ages in which the khans before spoken of, were built. But the most imposing remains are the ruins of an extensive castle near the centre of the town. It is built on the craggy sides of a rock which forms the angle between two of the valleys, and the passenger, as he walks through the street, is surprised to see its walls towering above him to the height of several hundred feet. Some inscriptions in Arabic are found in the interior, which was occupied only by a few poor families, who had taken refuge there. The inscriptions add another proof to the style of the remains within and without the city, that it has anciently been a strong hold of some Saracenic ruler.

So pleasant were the hours which I spent in Bitlis, that I sincerely regretted the approach of that of my departure. I was loath to launch out from this quiet haven upon a way which threatened greater dangers than we had yet encountered, and there were hours when I thought that I could hardly expect to find any sphere, in which I could spend my life with higher hopes of usefulness than among this interesting people. But the greater part of my work was still before me, and my motto must still be, Onward. The pain of departure was, however, considerably alleviated by the manifest

desire of my host for its arrival. He had not ceased to complain of my presence as an intrusion, and went so far, on one occasion, as to inquire of me, whether it was the custom in Frank countries to thrust guests upon a private man uninvited. I described to him our comfortable hotels. He sighed a regret that there were no such establishments in Bitlis. I, from my heart, sighed too. He seemed determined that we should profit little by his hospitality. Our fare would have disgraced the meanest village. No article but rakee was offered us in abundance—a circumstance from which John inferred that rakee must be cheap in Bitlis. I was even indebted for my pleasant resting-place upon the balcony, to his determination not to receive me into his house. The hours which I passed there were, however, none the less delightful on this account. In calm repose, during the heats of noon-tide, and in the hushed stillness of the evening, I found many a moment for quiet and pleasing meditation. The soft airs of the night made my slumbers light and sweet, and I was awaked in the morning by the early matins of numerous birds singing in the branches above me.

The evening before my departure I was invited to spend at the house of one of the principal Armenians of the place. I went at sunset and found several guests already arrived. They were seated in two rows on opposite sides of the room, and the master sat below them all. They all rose as I entered, while the host conducted me to a seat in the recess of the window at the head of the apartment. When all were again seated, sherbet, followed by rakee and sweet-meats, was sent round—a ceremony which was often repeated before dinner. This important meal was at length announced. Two waiters of great size were placed upon stools,

around which the guests seated themselves in two companies. Dinner was served up in Oriental style. One dish rapidly succeeded another until it became a task to taste of those which followed. Rakee was served, at the same time, in small glasses, but with a frequency which threatened to endanger the sobriety of the company. I thought it my duty, at the hazard of seeming to slight the hospitality of my entertainer, to set an example of abstinence. The master did not sit at meat, but stood by, attending to the wants of his guests and giving directions to his servants. The compliments with which I was greeted were as Oriental as the scene about me. My coming was a gift from God; it was the appearance of a rose in a garden where it had never before been seen. John, who was present, was complimented as a Constantinopolitan by a health to Sultan Mahmoud, whose virtues were extolled with a formality and vehemence which seemed not a little suspicious. After dinner, the company resumed their seats, and an hour was filled up with music and song from a Kurdish musician. The scene, although orderly, was of a lighter kind than I would have chosen to be in, if I had foreknown its character. But I went away hoping that some good might have been done, by giving them, perhaps, the first idea they had ever received of temperance in the use of strong drinks. The party broke up at an early hour. The host accompanied me into the street and, on parting, seized and kissed my hand.

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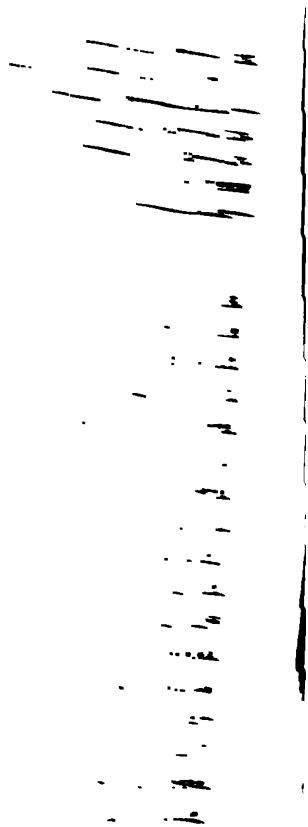

the mountains of Kurdistan, but I soon found that it was quite a common habiliment.

Our landlord was very profuse in his well-wishes when the moment of parting came. He refused all compensation, and I distributed the sum which I intended for him among his children and domestics. Another musician, a strolling player, met us at the door as we mounted, and marched before us through the streets blowing harsh discord, nor could we prevail upon him to desist, until we answered him with silver sounds. The streets were thronged with multitudes, both of men and women, who had come together, not to witness our departure, but to greet the arrival of a band of pilgrims from Mecca, whose approach had just been announced. A Western crowd, on such an occasion, would be all on foot and in motion, but here all were seated by the road-side quietly talking and smoking. In most parts of Turkey, native Christians would sedulously keep aloof from all participation in the festivity of such an occasion, and it is just at such times that Mussulmans are least disposed to see them present. But here there were quite as many Christians as Mussulmans, a circumstance which added another proof to the many which I saw, of the great intimacy existing between the two classes in Bitlis. I espied among them several of the friends that we had made in the city. They rose as we passed, and exchanged with us those Eastern greetings than which nothing can be more expressive, when uttered sincerely. As departing friends, we cried out to them, "To God we commend you." They replied, "God give you prosperity." Even the little boys wished us "a safe road." These expressions of good-will affected me at the moment, and

seemed a happy augury for our journey through a more difficult country than we had yet traversed.

Before we had passed the last of the throng, we descried the expected company approaching. First came the young Bey, dressed in his gayest costume, and mounted on a noble steed, which he managed perfectly. I remember still his martial bearing, and his open cheerful face. A long train of attendants followed. He drew up as we passed, and we seized the opportunity to apologize for not having waited upon him at his castle, which stands upon one of the hills out of the town, by informing him that we had once called there in his absence. He expressed the hope of seeing us again and we rode on. Next came the pilgrims, mounted and looking cold and proud. The worst effect of the Mecca pilgrimage is, to create self-righteousness. In general, those who have performed it are the most bigoted and contemptuous of all Mussulmans. John saluted the company very respectfully as they passed, but they looked so well satisfied with themselves, that I thought it would be a waste of honour to imitate his example. A great crowd followed them, and, when these had passed, we were left to pursue our way alone.

For about five miles, our road was the same with that by which we approached the city. We then struck off N. E. and pursued our way over an uneven country. On our right were the mountains, bounding the opposite side of the valley before-mentioned, and on our left the gigantic peak called Nemrout Dagh, or, The Mountain of Nimrod, the same which gives its name to the range so called. It stood in a singular position, like a tower in the corner of a wall, just where the line of mountains turns rectangularly, going off, in one direction, to form the Northern boundary of the plain of

Moush, and, in the other, towards the Western border of the Lake of Van. My guide informed me that on the summit of this peak is a fountain of unknown depth, which is said to communicate with the little lake in which the Kara Sou rises. It may be the same source which St. Martin, on the authority of ancient Armenian writers, mentions as existing in this region.*

At Bitlis, when inquiring what European travellers had ever visited the city, we were told that a German had been there several years before, and had copied all the ancient inscriptions which he could find in the town. I conjectured this to be the unfortunate Schultz, of whom I afterwards heard more particularly at Van, but I have no positive information of his having visited Bitlis. I have since learned that two or three English travellers have passed through the city, but, besides the German just mentioned, the old inhabitants of whom I made inquiry, knew of no foreigner who had been in the country excepting a Russian, who was murdered while approaching the town, and when only a few hours distant. We passed the spot where the event was said to have happened, just after turning off from the Moush road.

While surveying it I was suddenly startled at seeing two horses, fully equipped, feeding in a little hollow close by the side of our path. I was, at the moment, lagging a little behind the party. My guide, who seemed singularly affected by the sight, suddenly motioned to me to ride up. We had advanced only a few paces when we espied the masters of the horses, sitting close under the bank, and so well concealed that we

* St. Martin, Vol. I.

did not discover them until we were within a few feet of them. Our guide offered them no salutation, and seemed endeavouring to appear as if he did not notice them. He rode by without turning his head, and we followed his example. But the hasty glance which I caught, sufficed to satisfy me respecting their character. They had the ferocious aspect of the mountain Kurds, and were too much and too well armed for honest travellers. They eyed us sharply until we had passed. There were three of them while we were four, for our Kurd had thought it best to take with him a stout Turk to act as guide in certain parts of the route, with which he was not acquainted. To this superiority of number we doubtless owed our safety, for we went on our way unmolested.

Farther on we passed the ruins of an extensive Khan, among which were remains of baths and other buildings which showed the whole to have been formerly on a magnificent scale.

Just three hours and a half after mounting our horses in Bitlis, and two hours after leaving the road to Moush, John, who was riding a few paces in advance, announced that the lake was in full view. Overjoyed at the sight of blue water, he cried out, as he first caught sight of it, *Stamboul! Stamboul!* It was in truth as glorious a prospect as could greet the eyes. It opened full upon us in an instant. On the right of it was a barrier of tall rocky mountains rising in successive peaks, crowned with snow. Here and there, from their base, a promontory was running its long nose far out into the water. On the left of the lake, the land sloped gently upward, broken into hills, which were the continuance of the Nimrod range and which ended in the majestic form of Subhan, clothed far down its side with a robe of pure white. Between these two sides lay the lake, stretching off from us to the East. Its calm surface was reflecting

the deep azure of the sky. Its gentle repose mingled in most impressive harmony with the awful grandeur of the mountains, and the hush of stillness reigned over all like the presence of a spirit.

We were standing on the brow of a steep declivity, between the foot of which and the lake, was a slope covered with fruit-trees, like a garden. This slope was about two-thirds of a mile broad and two or three miles long, forming the South-Western bend of the lake. Near its Eastern extremity stood a village called Ourtab, and at its Western end another called Tadvan.* The latter has a little inlet which serves as an harbour and is commanded by a semi-globular mound with ruins, like those of a castle, upon it. We wound our way down the declivity and reached Ourtab in half an hour.

Looking from this point, the general direction of the Southern shore of the lake is South of East, and the Western shore a little East of North East. We stopped two hours at the village and then struck down to the lake, which we reached in a quarter of an hour. As we stood by its edge I noticed that the water for a hundred yards from the shore, was of a milky whiteness. A light wind had arisen and the ripples were breaking with a low murmur on the sand. A row of birds, in size and appearance like gulls, were looking gravely into the water. I dismounted to taste of it. It must have changed its quality since olden times, or the ancient writers, both Armenian and Greek, have greatly erred in pronouncing it salt. It is brackish but not very disagreeable to the taste. I have often quenched my thirst with worse.

Close by where we came to the lake, was a field of red

* See Appendix, IX.

clover in full luxuriance of growth. Here my Kurd insisted upon stopping to say his prayers, but, as he had not said them at noon, the most meritorious hour of the five, as it was not now a canonical hour, and as I never knew him to say them afterwards, during the whole journey, I am inclined to believe, what John suggested at the moment, that his sudden devotion was excited by the thought that the time necessary for it would afford his horses a fine opportunity to regale themselves on clover. The delay was probably more beneficial to them than to me. I had felt, before leaving the village, considerable indisposition, which had now increased to a fever. While we stopped, my position on my horse became so irksome that I dismounted and flung myself upon the grass. It was fresh and moist and doubtless added to my disorder, for I journeyed on, the rest of the afternoon, with great difficulty. Our course skirted the lake and lay over rugged hill sides which descended to its brink. Most of the ground was covered with dwarf oaks, but here and there we passed through open groves of fruit trees apparently growing without culture amidst the wilder vegetation.

We reached, a little past six, the Armenian village of Elmaleu, nestling amidst a grove of fruit trees at the head of a little cove, itself completely sheltered by the surrounding rocks and trees. The scene was so retired and quiet that it seemed the very home of peace. The women were uncovered, as they generally are in the villages, and were spinning cotton before their doors. They appeared more neat and thrifty than I had been accustomed to see. But, what was best and strangest of all, they were kind to me. I wished to spend the night in the open air, but they dissuaded me from it by saying that the vicinity of the lake rendered it damp. The

lodgings provided for me by the Kiahya, were in a subterranean guests' apartment at the end of a dark passage some forty feet in length. There was no aperture in the room for the light or air, and it was crowded with cattle. I wrapped my cloak about me and laid upon the ground. Even there I could not save myself from the incursions of vermin, which got beneath my clothes and tormented me almost to madness. The heat and stench of the stable were well nigh insupportable. What with all these, my fever increased and effectually prevented me from forgetting my troubles in sleep. I lay all night tossing from side to side, struggling to command myself to repose, and praying that I might be spared from sickness in the midst of a barbarous and friendless land. Towards morning my fever subsided, I gained a little sleep and rose sufficiently refreshed to pursue my journey. Such was the day and night of a Fourth of July in Kurdistan.

The next was my birth-day. We rode for three hours over the rough and mountainous region which borders the lake, sometimes making our way over the rugged summits of head-lands which jutted into it, and sometimes creeping along their face almost perpendicularly above the water. In such a position we met a caravan of fifty horses, coming from Van and laden with cotton. We succeeded in passing them, only by drawing up our little party into a niche in the rock, which fortunately offered at the moment. At the end of three hours we struck inward over the mountains, to get round the head of a promontory which was too bold and high to admit a passage near the lake, and at length reached the Kurdish village of Pougah.

These villages of the Kurds are altogether more neat and respectable than those of the Christians. Instead

of being built, like the latter, half subterraneous, they are entirely above ground and are constructed with more regularity. The people who inhabit them are distinct from the wild Kurds of the mountains. They follow the quiet pursuits of husbandry, remaining in their villages, excepting in the hot months, when many of them choose a cooler position and spend the summer in tents. Others are always stationary in the villages. Most of those between Bitlis and Van have come over the mountains from the South and formed all their villages within twelve years, changing, as they told me, a nomadic for a settled life. The Armenians fear them, but I could not learn that they have any thing to complain of against them more than Christians in other parts can bring against the Mussulmans. They assume a tone of authority towards the Armenians and treat them with the freedom of superiors. The latter regard them as intruders among them and heartily wish them beyond the mountains. Notwithstanding their former character, they appear superior, in every respect, both to the Armenians and Turks of this region. They are chiefly husbandmen and apparently industrious and good ones. They are far more cleanly in their houses and persons and generally better dressed. Their faces are open, cheerful and intelligent. Their women go unveiled, but are modest and often beautiful. Their children are well formed, active and bright. As a people they are the best looking peasantry that I found in the East. I never saw a mosque in their villages, but they profess themselves good Mussulmans and have an Imam who conducts the prayers in his own house. They are on the whole more strict in their devotions than the Turks, but they have hardly any intelligent idea of the religion which they profess.

The Kurds of Pougah received us well and set before us an excellent breakfast. They took us, from our dress, to be Turkish officers, but we did not judge it best to give them any information with regard to ourselves. One of them, however, came forward and offered us a fine little boy for the service of the Sultan.

My fever had returned soon after leaving Elmaleu, but subsided a little when I had gained a shelter from the sun. It left me, however, so weak that I found myself obliged to seek refreshment by sleep before starting again. I, therefore, directed John to sit upon the watch while I took a nap, and stretching myself upon my cloak, covered my face with my handkerchief to screen it from the light, and lay still, endeavouring to compose myself to sleep.

Before many minutes had passed, I overheard John communicating to our Kurdish guide the same order I had given to him, and soon after heard from him certain nasal sounds which afforded indubitable evidence that he was not in a condition to be very vigilant. The guide himself soon grew weary of his watch, and, at length, but insensibly, doubtless, followed John's example. Our Turk was away tending the horses. While all this was passing, a crowd of the villagers sat round us in silent observation. Presently I observed that the conversation which they had been carrying on with us in Turkish suddenly changed to Kurdish, and soon after I felt a hand in my pocket twitching at something within. I immediately threw off the handkerchief from my face, deliberately sat up and looked round to detect the offender. He was a Turk who had overtaken us on the road, and made us very flattering offers of service. I did not at first like his appearance, for he had a malicious and sinister look. I had made several attempts to part

company with him, but if we rode fast he was better mounted and would ride faster, and if we slackened our pace, he reduced his in equal proportion. He appeared a little confused at being caught, but soon recovered himself. Some of the villagers had stolen away. Others were still sitting by and doubtless were accessary to the act, for, with all their good qualities, the village Kurds have an incurable love of pilfering. I immediately called up John and, rebuking him for his negligence, told him I was ready to mount. I did not endeavour to conceal from the villagers that I was offended by what had been done, but, having remunerated the family who had entertained me, rode away without bidding them adieu.

I was still too feeble to ride far, and my guide promised to stop at the village of Geullu, one and a half hours distant, a large village, as he informed me, inhabited by Armenians. Our road lay over a rich plain, embosomed in the mountains, many acres of which were covered with grain. Here we descried a line of black tents inhabited by wandering Kurds, a kind distinct from those of the villages and leading a sort of gipsy life. They were amusing themselves with dancing when we first observed them, but, as soon as they saw us, they broke from their ranks and ran towards us, dancing as they came. One, who appeared to be the chief among them, seized John's horse and demanded a present. John assented, on condition of a dance from the whole company. Forthwith they begun, young and old, men with gray hairs and little children, women with infants at their breasts and maidens, all moving to the music of the tambourine. When the dance had ceased, they rushed forward for their expected presents. One of the girls seized my bridle with one hand, while, with the other, she

dexterously attempted to pick my pockets, uttering all the time the only word of Turkish she seemed to know —*Bakshish.** Others performed the same service for the rest of the party, chuckling all the time with the greatest good nature imaginable. Notwithstanding this troublesome propensity, I could not but admire their open faces full of mirth. From old to young they appeared a comely race. Some of the girls, especially, slightly formed and with nut-brown complexions glowing with health and exercise, would have been accounted beautiful in more civilized lands than the hills of Kurdistan.

Geullu was in sight when we left this party, but my guide deceived me by telling me that it was another village and that our lodging-place was a little in advance. Almost before I was aware we had reached the extremity of the plain and had begun to ascend. There was no village in sight but the one in our rear, and nothing before us but a rough and steep mountain-side. I began to suspect that all was not right, but the Kurd persisted in advancing and I was too exhausted to resist. We could ascend only by keeping a zig-zag course. The path was composed of loose rocks which rolled incessantly from beneath our feet, and so steep that I was able to retain my saddle only by clinging to my horse's mane.

Such passages, however, are not remarkable in Eastern travelling, and the present one might have passed without notice, if it had not been for the suffering which it cost me. I had become so weak that I was unable to hold up my head, and the effort of riding was so painful that I was several times on the point of suffering myself to fall from my horse. The heat of the sun

* *Bakshish*—Present.

seemed to be penetrating me and drying up my blood. I thought I could feel every ray enter my flesh like burning iron. My brain was heated and the pulsations in my temples were painfully distinct. I looked up to the sun and its aspect seemed so merciless that my heart sank within me. Then I thought that God made it and that it was by his order that it consumed me. I remembered that I was in Christ's work, that he had told his disciples they must expect to suffer, and the thought that I was suffering for his sake, stole so sweetly into my spirit as to overmaster all my pain and make me rejoice in it. We reached the top of the hill, descended and crossed over many others, until, four long hours after passing Geullu, we reached the village of Narnigas. John helped me to dismount and laid me upon the grass, whilst he prepared a couch of straw for me in a stable.

The whole of this region which lies along the southern border of the lake, may be described in a word. Nearly parallel to the lake and about six miles distant, is a continuous range of mountains extremely rugged in appearance. They looked at the distance from which I viewed them, like bare rocks whose edges and peaks were sharp and pointed, as if cut into the angular and pyramidal forms which they bore. Snow rested on their highest summits. Between this range and the lake is an assemblage of lower mountains, covered with oak bushes and interspersed with plains of great richness, from which beautiful slopes run up among the hills. Beyond the range, as the inhabitants informed me, the country is more level and inhabited by Kurds of the most ferocious character. Between the range and the lake are numerous villages of Armenians and Kurds. The former, I was told, have many convents in the

mountains. We passed within sight of two or three of them in our ride from Geullu to Narnigas. The latter village was small and mean, inhabited by a mixed population of the two races who possess the land.

When my couch was prepared, John assisted me to it, and helped me to lie down, for I was now incapable of any effort. Though in a stable, only a few feet removed from a herd of cattle, and lying on a bed of straw spread upon the bare ground, the sense of repose was a more perfect luxury than, in better times, the couch of a king could have afforded. It was destined, however, to be soon interrupted. About sunset, a party of Kurds came to the door and demanded admittance. I saw at once that they were of the wild mountain stock, and the Armenians of the village said they were strangers. John told them that they might find some other stable, but that the one we occupied was our own for the night, and we wished for no company. He told them, moreover, that he knew very well their custom was to spend the night in the open air, and that they were not asking admittance for the sake of a shelter. They persisted, however, in their demand, and the strife grew warm. At length they asked that one of their number should be admitted, but this, of course, only strengthened our suspicion of some evil design. When this demand also was refused, they became furious, and pressed forward to enter. John, who possessed great muscular strength, and was, when occasion demanded, as bold as a lion, sprang at once to his feet and, seizing the foremost of them, hurled him with great violence out of the door, and shut it upon them. He then fastened it as well as he could and, planting himself before it, threatened to offer effectual resistance to the first man who should attempt to enter. They returned the threats with abun-

dant interest, but no one ventured to carry them into effect. After loading us with all manner of abuse, they departed and left us to our repose.

We had come down to the lake an hour before reaching Narnigas, but had immediately left it again, and on quitting the village, the following morning, we still pursued our way at a considerable distance from it. The hills now presented a new appearance. They were more verdant and of a more regular form than before. Our course led us through a fertile valley, well cultivated, and watered by a little stream with a mill upon it. After four hours' travelling, we turned out of the valley into an extensive plain which conducted us once more to the shore of the lake. The Kurdish husbandmen were at work. In one place they were cutting *grass* with a *sickle*. I never before or afterwards, in the East, saw grass cut for fodder excepting in the Northern parts of European Turkey, nor did I ever, in any other instance, see an agricultural implement in form like the sickle. The food commonly given to cattle in Turkey is barley-straw, and the most common provender is barley. This is the most extensive product of agriculture in the Empire. Wheat is next. Oats and rye I have seldom seen, and corn is abundant only in European Turkey, where the meal is made into bread equal to the brown loaves of New England. The grain that was growing on the border of the lake of Van was now ripe and nearly six feet high. In another part of the plain a party were ploughing, and singing right merrily at their work. An Eastern peasant singing at his work! This too was strange. I never heard it elsewhere, in those lands, than among the Kurds.

On the Southern side of this plain, away from the lake, was a singular natural curiosity. From the top of

a high mountain-peak, a little stream descended in full view, and by a declivity so steep that from top to bottom the stream appeared a line of foam, looking in the distance like a silver thread stretched up and down the mountain side. We had travelled about sixteen miles when we reached a Kurdish village, where I found a tree, and reposed under it for several hours. I had been riding in incessant pain all the morning, and my strength was now so entirely exhausted, that when I was called to mount again, I was unable to rise. I wished to spend the night in the village, but the Kurd declared it to be a dangerous place, and that nothing would induce him to remain. John, too, was out of patience, and insolently asked me if I was going to die. After expostulating with them for some time, I happened to recollect what I had read in the memoir of Henry Martyn, of the relief which he received in a similar situation from the application of cold water. I determined to try its virtue, and ordered John to pour a jar of it on the back of my head. The effect was instantaneous. The blood ceased to throb in my temples; my strength returned; I rose and mounted my horse.

Our way now lay close along the shore. We were refreshed by a gentle breeze from the lake, and by the sight of its blue surface with its little isles. One of them, a few miles from the shore, was Akhtamar, renowned in Armenian history as the seat of a Catholicos of that Church Though it lay without the precincts of my work, I should certainly have made a visit thither, had not the state of my health warned me to hasten forward to Van. I was told that I could find a boat at some of the villages which would convey me to the island, although the intercourse of the people with the shore is infrequent. The island appeared of a round form, and

barren and rocky. It has a monastery upon it, but I could not, with certainty, distinguish it from the shore. I learned at Van that it was on an extensive scale, but the Armenians themselves knew little of the affairs of the island.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM VASTAN TO VAN.

Vastan—Kurdish Bey—Mohammedan Piety—Rivers—Shanikoum—Illustration of Scripture—View of the Lake—Erdremid—Introduction to the Pasha of Van—Chairs—Homage—Lodgings.

The ride from the last village to Vastan, was only about ten miles. Vastan itself is a name of great antiquity, but the place has departed. It stood at the south-east corner of the lake, in an enchanting position, on a plain like that at the south-west extremity. There are now but five or six houses in the vicinity of the lake, but I was told that there were more in the gardens at the inner extremity of the plain, and that there are some slight traces of the ancient city remaining. The gardens themselves were in full view. They are the residence of several Kurdish Beys, or, as the Turks of this region and of Persia pronounce it, Begs. The residence of the ruler of the place, is on the top of a conical hill, overlooking the plain, and wears the air of a castle.

Besides the few houses near the lake, were an old mosque and medresseh, the first I had seen since leaving Bitlis. One of the houses was the residence of a Bey, of whom we asked shelter for the night. We were received into a comfortable building, adjoining the house, and evidently intended for the reception of guests. It had in the middle a platform or stage, with a balustrade around it, where we could repose without danger of being trodden upon by our horses in the night. As the

sun had not yet gone down, we preferred to sit for a while before the door, where carpets were spread for us. The Bey did not make his appearance for some time after our arrival, but I observed him eyeing us from a small window in the wall of his house. He sent us, however, a present of cherries and a bouquet of roses, in token of hospitality, and at last came himself. His sons, who had gathered round us, rose as he approached, and his appearance was so venerable that I almost involuntarily did the same. He was slightly bowed with age, but his figure was still tall and commanding. His beard, long since whitened by the frost of Time, descended to his breast. His face wore a grave, but kindly, aspect, and his whole appearance bespoke the simplicity of patriarchal times. He laid his hand upon his heart and bade us welcome. We pressed him to a seat upon the carpet, while his sons stood respectfully before him. The eldest was about forty years and the youngest just entered into manhood. So, I thought, the patriarch Jacob may have often sat at even-tide before the door of his tent, surrounded by his manly sons. The old Bey knew no language besides his own, but one of the young men was able to serve as interpreter.

When the sun had set, we retired to our apartment, and the Bey came in and ate and spent the evening with us. I have often met with Mussulmans who seemed to possess a deep religious feeling, and with whom I could exercise something of religious communion. I have sometimes had my own mind quickened and benefitted by the reverence with which they spoke of the Deity, and have sometimes mingled in harmonious converse with them on holy things. I have heard them insist with much earnestness on the duty of prayer,

when they appeared to have some spiritual sense of its nature and importance. I have sometimes found them entertaining elevated views of moral duty, and looking with contempt on the pleasures of the world. These are, indeed, rare characters, but I should do injustice to my own conviction, if I did not confess that I have found them. In these instances I have uniformly been struck with a strong resemblance to patriarchal piety. That reverence for God, that spirit of simple trust and resignation to his will, that disposition to observe the operations of his hand in the works of nature, and that kindly and beneficent feeling towards all which are the prominent characteristics of the faith of prophets and holy men of old, are also the peculiar traits of Islamism, whenever it assumes any thing of a spiritual character. And why should it not be so? It is essentially a transcript of the religion of the Old Testament, corrupted no more than that was corrupted when Mohammedanism arose. I would not appear as the panegyrist of the religion, nor would I deny to it what I sincerely believe to be its due. On the contrary, I exalt the religion of the Bible when I show that even its corruptions may sometimes have a beneficent tendency.

These thoughts are suggested by my recollections of the Kurdish patriarch. When we sat down to eat, he implored a blessing with great solemnity, and rendered his thanks when we arose. Before he left us, he spread his carpet and offered his evening devotions with apparent meekness and humility, and I could not but feel how impressive are some of the Oriental forms of worship, when I saw his aged head bowed to the earth in religious homage. I have not scrupled to adopt the same form when necessitated to perform the same duty in the presence of Mussulmans, avoiding, of course, their

various and oft-repeated prostrations. The very posture helps to create a feeling of lowliness and humility, and has been, I think, wisely adopted, or rather preserved as an ancient Oriental usage, among the Mesopotamian Christians.

We saw nothing of our venerable host the next morning, but sent him our *selam* before we left. Our way continued along the water's brink and soon turned the south-western extremity, and changed its direction from an easterly to a nearly north-westerly course. We passed at this point the most considerable stream that we found running into the lake. Its length, we were told, does not exceed five or six miles, and its width where we crossed it was about twenty feet. We had before passed several shallow rivulets, but nothing worthy of notice. Still the lake, embosomed as it is in mountains, must receive annually large supplies from tributary streams. Yet it has no outlet, and is never known to rise above a certain height. I was compelled to stop at an Armenian village called Shanikoum, and finding there a retired garden, I determined to spend the day. We entered it without permission, for none of the inhabitants would receive us into their houses or show us any civility. No one, however, disturbed our repose in the garden, and I enjoyed, for the first time since leaving Bitlis, a few hours of retirement.

We left with the declining sun, and rode two and a half hours over an uninteresting country. Excepting a few fields of grain standing in sheaves, all was a stony and barren soil. As we passed one of the fields, a little girl took up a sheaf, and came and placed it before our horses. This was to indicate that it was an offering, and we were expected to recognize the courtesy by a small present. This is a very prevalent custom in

Turkey. Lambs are often presented in the same way. Another custom is, for the traveller to invoke a blessing upon the grain while it is still growing in the field. The same is, doubtless, alluded to in Psalm CXXIX., where those who hate Zion are likened to the useless grass upon the house-tops, to which they who go by do not say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you.

The view from this point was very fine, and the whole scene was remarkably impressive. We were directly opposite the point at which we first approached the lake, and the whole breadth of its motionless surface stretched before us until lost in the misty distance. Beyond it the sun was going down. To the N.W. was the majestic form of Subhan. "And there," said the Turk as we turned a point, "is Van." It appeared across a bay, upon a plain extending from the same range of mountains before noticed, which come down near the lake behind Vastan and sweeping round, still preserving their parallel direction, run off to the north and form the great boundary between Turkey and Persia. The town appeared like a mass of parched earth, with vineyards in front and a high rock towering behind it. For announcing this addition to the scene, the Turk demanded a bakshish.

As it was too late to reach the city before night, and I wished on my first entrance, to present myself before the Pasha, we stopped at Erdremid, an Armenian village containing 100 families. It was built upon the steep side of a hill and the houses were well constructed of stone and above ground. Below it were gardens covering at least a hundred acres. These are inhabited by Mussulmans, and contain, the villagers told me, a thousand houses. The place is probably the site of an ancient city as there are still to be seen there some re-

mains and inscriptions similar to those which I shall hereafter describe in Van.* We found in it a comfortable resting-place and an excellent supper, both of them almost as great rarities as arrow-headed inscriptions.

We commenced our journey the next morning with unwonted alacrity. The distance to the city was short, but, as we were obliged to go round the head of the bay, we were nearly two hours in reaching it. Our way was over a uniform plain, but the city sat so low that we could discern nothing besides the minarets. Some one, coming from the town, informed us that the Pasha was in his summer palace in the gardens. We therefore stopped outside the walls, while I sent forward the Turk with the firman and letter from Erzroum. He soon returned with three attendants, who announced themselves as sent by the Pasha to escort me to the palace. As my fever was again upon me, I sent one of them to make my selam to the Pasha, with a request that he would appoint me lodgings and permit me to retire to them without ceremony. He was unsuccessful. The Pasha was ready to receive me—the Pasha was most anxious to see me—the Pasha would not detain me long,—and I could not avoid appearing. One of the escort, a Kurdish Effendi, who will again appear in our narrative, observing my dejection, remarked that I was receiving my honour rather indifferently. But I had not enough of physical energy left to appear otherwise; and the conduct of the Pasha, though Eastern politeness, seemed to me so unreasonable that I determined to show him my apology was no feint, and to look just as I felt.

We passed the great gate of the palace and through

* See Appendix, X.

its outer court to another lying upon a garden. I stopped just without it to divest myself of my boots and assume a pair of Turkish slippers, and then entered. On the opposite side of the court was a pavilion built in stone, open on three sides and connected, by the other, with the palace. There sat the Pasha. As he was still some forty feet distant, he had a good opportunity to observe me as I approached, and measure the etiquette with which he should receive me. My dress, worn and stained with travel, and myself broken with illness and looking as forlorn and dejected as one of his own rayahs, I could not have presented a very formidable appearance. However, he received me civilly and with much more of respect than my outward man would indicate that I was entitled to.

The pavilion in which the Pasha sat was built of stone, and supported on three sides by columns. Ample curtains were suspended from above, which could be raised or lowered at pleasure. One fountain played in the middle of the pavilion, and another in the court without. The Pasha was a middle-aged man with a fine Osmanlee face.

He had put on, for the occasion, a cloak in the same style with that worn by the late Sultan, when abroad, with a gold-laced collar, and a golden clasp. He had also set a chair for me. I suppose he had never seen any other, and the sight of it made me ashamed of my own habits. What an idea of Western customs, I thought, must that tall, straight-backed, narrow-seated body-bearer give to an Oriental! I felt, too, how much less I was at my ease than the Pasha was, when I found myself perched upon it, and compelled, by its unyielding perpendicularity, to sit up straight. My reader will not understand the true nature of the position, without being

informed, that the chair was one of those articles of Malta manufacture, made expressly for the Eastern market, and only, one would imagine, for a people who were not able to discriminate the proper qualities of such conveniences. Its back was as vertical as can be found in the most venerable remnant of Saxon antiquity, its seat of twisted flag, yielding to the weight of the occupant, and sinking so low that the legs swung over the front as upon a fulcrum, the feet, the while, seeking in vain to reach the floor, and the nether extremities tingling from lack of circulation. How much more natural and comfortable, I thought within myself, is the Eastern mode of sitting. The sofa, our most luxurious article, is only an approximation to a Turkish divan.

The Pasha asked many questions on America, and my object in visiting his country, to all which I answered discreetly. He then sent for John, who made a low obeisance as he entered, and, at the Pasha's bidding, knelt at the foot of his carpet. His examination ended, the Kurd was called. He went a degree farther in his respects than John, for he approached, knelt, kissed the border of the carpet, and then rising to his feet, stood with his hands folded before him. Upon being questioned, he had the assurance to say that he had been deputed by the Bey of Bitlis, in whose service he professed to be, to convey us into the presence of the Pasha. The whole story was a fabrication, and his conduct had been an incessant torment to me from the moment of our leaving Bitlis. The Pasha, however, believed him and, according to custom, ordered a present of fifty piastres to be made to him by his treasurer.

The Pasha offered me a room in the palace, which looked out on the pavilion and court, and at noon sent me a rich breakfast from his own table. Finding my-

self, however, exposed to constant observation, and feeling the need of retirement and repose, I begged the Pasha to assign to me a place of residence in the midst of the gardens. He readily complied with my request, and, as it was Saturday, I retired to my new lodgings before night.

CHAPTER XIV.

VAN.

History of Van—Situation—Ancient Remains—Partial destruction by Tamerlane—Gardens—Ancient Inscription—My Host—Repast—Etiquette of the Table—Eastern and Western Habits compared—Sunday—The Church—Government of Van—Military—Schultz—The City—Trade—Inhabitants—Character of the Armenians—The State of Mohammedanism in these Regions.

Although my object in these pages is not to gratify a merely literary or scientific curiosity, I shall be pardoned if I dwell with some minuteness upon a city so little known and yet so venerable for its antiquity as Van. The ancient historians of Armenia pretend that it was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, who, after her conquest of the country, chose this for her summer residence, and expended upon it her royal treasures. It afterwards fell into decay, and was restored by a king who flourished shortly before Alexander, and who gave to it his own name, the same which it now bears. Having again fallen, either beneath the shocks of war or the ravages of time, it was repaired by another king of Armenia about A. C. 150. A body of captive Jews were established there by the Armenian king Tigranes, and became very numerous. They were rooted out by the Persians, after their capture of the city, about A. D. 350. None of the race are now remaining. Its citadel was then accounted the strongest post in Armenia

Doubtless it occupied the site of the present one, upon the apparently impregnable rock which overlooks the town. The city subsequently passed through several changes of domination, and in A. D. 1392 was taken by Tamerlane. It afterwards suffered another capture, and was finally taken by the Turks, A. D. 1533.* The history of its changes since that date, as the head of a pashalik, which has been now half-independent of the sway of the Sultan, and now in open rebellion, would fill an interesting page in the modern history of the East; but we must turn to the present.

The reader may, perhaps, imagine a plain extending from the mountains before described to the shore of the lake. Out of that plain, farther from the mountains than from the lake, but at a goodly distance from both, rises a calcareous rock to the height of several hundred feet, and about a mile in length.† It is entirely isolated, and presents so strong a contrast with the perfect level of the plain, that one is ready, at first sight, to pronounce it artificial. So indeed Schultz reported it to be; but upon careful examination, I could find nothing to justify the opinion. The direction of the rock is nearly East and West. The Southern side is a bare, solid, perpendicular face, while the Northern slopes gradually down to the plain. At the foot of the rock, on the Southern side, lies VAN. The wall of the city, which is double, composed of earth, and in an excellent condition, is in the form of a semicircle, of which the rock itself is the base. What plainly proves that the latter is not artificial is, that no joints can be discovered, and it has all the indentures and

* St. Martin, I. 137 et seq.

† I measured the length only by the eye. Schultz reports it to be *three* miles. *Abrégé de Géographie, par Balbi*, p. 646.

irregularities of a natural surface. The Northern or sloping side is covered with earth and vegetation.

Art, however, has worked upon its surface and penetrated its bowels. Nearly in the centre of the vertical face, is a large and close inscription in the arrow-headed character. As it was too far up to be deciphered from the town, Schultz caused himself to be let down from above, and copied the whole. The citadel which crowns the summit, has a wall running along the Northern slope and meeting the wall of the town at its extremities. The garrison consisted of an old Turk, who refused us admittance, until he received a written order from the Pasha. The interior was in a neglected and desolate condition. Most of the buildings were in ruins, among others the mosque—an almost invariable accompaniment of Turkish fortresses. The ordnance consisted of a few old cannon, mounted on broken carriages.

At the Eastern end of the citadel are ranges of subterranean, or rather *subrupean*, apartments. The first is entered by a large door-way in the vertical face of the rock, which here forms, by a retreating angle, a broad platform on the very brink of the precipice. The rock about the door is smoothed so as to resemble the front of a house. The apartment is about forty feet long, from twenty to thirty wide, and of a corresponding height. It had no opening for light besides the door, and was partly filled with rubbish and stones. At its inner extremity was another opening leading to a second apartment, and beyond this, I was told, was still a third of the same character. On the other side of the angle made by the platform, was a second range of rooms, succeeding each other in like manner, but on a very small scale. They appeared to be intended either for store-houses or as receptacles for the dead. A late Pasha, whose tyran-

nical acts are still narrated by the inhabitants, used to send his victims hither for private execution. This at least was the story of our guide, and it received some corroboration from the great number of human bones which we found scattered about.

One day as I was wandering in the garden of an Agha of the city, on whom I had called to gather some information respecting the state of the medressehs, and whose gardens lay at the foot of the rock, near its Western extremity, I observed some distinct traces of a flight of stairs, which had led from the town up the face of the rock, out of which they were cut. They were evidently intended to conduct to apartments above. The doors of the apartments themselves were visible, looking out of the solid surface of the rock, and inaccessible, also, excepting by ropes, either from above or below. In their vicinity whole apartments have evidently been destroyed, since what were once their interior faces now appear without. The ruin seems to have been the work of man, and is doubtless the same which Tamerlane is said to have effected, after taking the city. History records that he found here certain structures of great solidity, which he determined to destroy. Bands of his soldiers, practised in the work of extermination, laboured for months under his direction, but the task exceeded their power, and they were compelled to leave it partially accomplished.

The remains which now exist are to be regarded, therefore, as a portion only, and perhaps a small portion, of more extensive works. The whole are attributed to Semiramis. Hither, we may imagine, this powerful and voluptuous queen retired, amidst the heats of summer, to rooms decorated with all the magnificence of royalty. Now she has passed away, and the palaces

which, in her life-time, were only the play-things of her power, and the favoured scenes of her pleasures, are become, though deserted and dark, the most durable memorials of her greatness. In those ancient times the plain around was covered with beautiful gardens, watered by running streams, and adorned with pavilions. Of these, also, something remains. The plain to the South East of the city, for miles in extent, is still covered with gardens, in which the richest portion of the population reside. The fruits are nearly the same as are found at Bitlis. Willows overshade the water courses, and the tall, slender, cream-coloured poplar mingles with the darker foliage of the fruit-trees.

On a rock to the east of the town is another inscription. The face of the rock is sculptured in the form of a door-way, about twenty feet in height and proportionably broad. The whole is covered close with characters in a state of perfect preservation. My attention was drawn to it by the people who reported it to be an inscription in some Frank language, but the characters, though as strange to me as to them, were the same as those above the town. I had come to the spot without my pencil, so that I was unable to make a copy of any part of the inscription, and more important duties would not permit me to re-visit the place. The characters, however, were of a uniform shape, bearing a general resemblance to those of the inscriptions found among the ruins of Persepolis and Babylon. They consist entirely of one form, which is that of a wedge, and the only variety seems to be in the different position of the characters, some being placed vertically and others horizontal.

The lodgings assigned to me by the Pasha were in the house of a wealthy Armenian. A servant had been sent forward to apprise him of my coming. He received

me at the outer gate with as unconstrained a welcome as if he had invited me thither himself. A room was already prepared for me in the most elevated part of the house, overlooking, on three sides, the forest of gardens beneath, and commanding a distant view of the city and the lake. The grounds belonging to the house, though but a speck in the midst of the gardens, themselves covered many acres and were cultivated by no less than thirty-six labourers. My host was still a young man, but had passed through some interesting vicissitudes of fortune. His father had been the banker of the tyrannical Pasha before-mentioned, who had put him to death with the design of seizing his riches. The son, however, anticipating the event, had gathered his father's wealth and fled to a place of security, where he remained until his enemy was removed or dead. The catastrophe, he said, had been a warning to him to avoid public stations. He had, therefore, returned and purchased an estate among the gardens, where he could spend his life in retirement and quiet.

Near the house was a kiöshk, or summer pavilion, where my host sometimes entertained a party of friends. On one occasion I was invited to be present. The pavilion was embowered among trees and opened, upon one side, on a square tank or reservoir, like those often seen in the courts of Persian houses. The floor was covered with carpets and cushions where the guests, twelve in number, could repose at their ease. Around the reservoir musicians were seated, who played while we ate. Some of the instruments were new to me. One in particular attracted my attention. It was in form like the body of a piano, though so small that it could be lifted with ease by the player. Its construction and notes also resembled those of the piano, but its cords

were struck by two pieces of wood or cork attached to sticks held in the hands of the performer.

Two large sofas were placed for the party. When we had seated ourselves, a narrow cloth, sufficiently long to extend around the table, was spread in our laps and a napkin richly embroidered was thrown over the left shoulder of each guest. Previously, however, servants came in with napkins on their shoulders, a ewer containing water in one hand and a basin in the other. The ewer is generally metallic, and somewhat resembling in form an old-fashioned teapot. The nose, however, is so small that only a slender stream of water is emitted, which is poured upon the hands of the guest by the servant kneeling before him, while the basin receives it below. To avoid the offence which the sight of the foul water might give the guest, the basin has a metallic cover perforated with holes, through which the water passes and is concealed beneath. From the centre of this cover rises a cylindrical post three or four inches high, on which the soap is laid. The guest, having performed his ablution, takes the napkin from the servant's shoulder, wipes his hands, replaces it, and the servant passes to the next. By this process fingers are made as fit to be thrust into a dish as knives and forks can be.

Generally a kind of soup is first served, into which each guest, the most respectable taking the lead, dips his spoon. Pieces of bread are placed in profusion around the sofa. There is no clashing of knives and forks, no changing of plates. Each dish is placed in the centre of the table, and they follow one another in rapid succession. Each one takes a portion from the side nearest him, so that the numerous fingers thrust in together do not interfere with each other. The guest

has hardly time to fill his mouth before the dish is snatched away and another takes its place. Each dish is distinct in its kind. There is no intermingling of different articles. If there are vegetables, they follow separately and alone. A Turkish sofra is almost always furnished with pickles, which are esteemed a great provocative of appetite. Sherbets, though common, are not so often found as at a Persian board. The variety of dishes is very great, and their number is proportioned to the rank and ability of the host. I have seen nearly twenty follow each other in the course of half an hour. Mutton is the meat most commonly eaten by the Turks. I have been served with a dinner in which there were brought forward about twelve dishes, each different from the other, but nearly all of them preparations of mutton. The last dish is the pilav. When this appears, the guest may understand that whatever remains of appetite he possesses must be satisfied upon that.

The etiquette of a Turkish repast is minute in the extreme. One can hardly imagine, without observing it, how much refinement there may be in eating with one's fingers. The radical difference between Oriental and Occidental manners is, that the first are formed upon nature, the second upon art. They may be equally refined, but the first have a rule which never changes, the second, one which is never fixed. That the Turk eats with his fingers, or sits upon the floor, does not prove him a barbarian, nor, on the other hand, are the forms of fashion always worthy of civilized men. Fashion, being arbitrary, may, at any moment, exhibit the indications of barbarous life. There is, in reason, no higher civilization in wearing ornaments in the ears or on the neck, than in the nose or about the ankle, nor is it an evidence of inferior intelligence to swathe the foot

than to contract, unnaturally, a more sensitive and vital part. This, at least, is to be said for Oriental etiquette, that it is never grotesque, and I know of no juster principle on which to base the forms of society, than that which lies at the foundation of Eastern manners, which is, to follow and improve upon nature, instead of abandoning it for arbitrary devices.

But I am digressing. I was about to say, that the etiquette of the table among the Turks is extremely punctilious. The guest uses only his right hand in eating, the left being reserved for other purposes. All wait until he who is superior dips his spoon, or his finger, into the dish. When one drinks, the rest exclaim, '*Afietler ola*,'—'May it do you good,'—and he responds by the usual sign of thanks. The guests never become boisterous, excepting among the Christians, whose meals are generally accompanied with wine or rakee. There is no lingering at the table after the meal is ended, but all return to their seats, and the process of ablution is carefully repeated, the mouth and mustaches being included in the operation. Coffee and pipes are then served and the guests retire early.

The hour of the principal repast is shortly after sunset. When our dinner at Van was ended, candles were brought, roses were thrown upon the water, and the music was continued until the guests were ready to depart. The spot won so much upon me, that I frequently afterwards retired thither alone, to repose during the heat of the day, and to listen to the music of the birds and the gurgling of the water, as it fell into the reservoir.

The next day after my arrival was Sunday, when, according to my custom, I remained in my lodgings and read the service of the Church, reflecting, with great

comfort, that the same petitions which I was offering in a strange land, were ascending from a thousand sanctuaries in the land of my fathers. It was at such moments that I felt, as I cannot describe, the glorious oneness of the Church. Wherever her children roam, they never pass beyond her heavenly influence. While they kneel in her penitential confessions, or rise in her ascriptions of praise, or send up her devout supplications, separation and distance are forgotten, they bow in imagination before her altars, and mingle, once more, in the worship of their brethren.

On Monday, I went to pay my respects to the Pasha, and was well received. The government of his province was formerly hereditary. Each successive ruler, however, was formally recognized by a royal firman, and owned subordination to the Pasha of Erzroum. This order of things was interrupted, as late, I believe, as 1831, when the Governor of the province threw off even the form of subjection, and appeared in open rebellion. Instead of maintaining himself in the citadel, to which he at first retreated, he went out to meet the troops sent against him by the Pasha of Erzroum, in the open field. He was defeated, his office taken from him, and the line of succession broken up. The rulers of the province now receive their appointment from the Sultan, and are entirely subject to his authority. The present incumbent is an Osmanlee of the new school, and, though a strict Mussulman, professes to be a friend of reform. He had lately received orders to introduce the new military system into his province. A thousand soldiers had already been enrolled, and the Pasha was daily expecting the arrival of a caravan, laden with military equipments for them. A body of the new recruits were on duty at the palace,

and appeared as if awaiting some momentous change. They still wore the rude peasant-garb in which they had been caught, and, instead of European muskets, shouldered their own rough fire-locks, or, where these were wanting, good stout clubs. The mock solemnity of their appearance, as they marched before the Pasha, in his visits to the city, was ludicrous in the extreme.

During my interview with the Pasha, he gave me considerable information respecting Schultz, who had visited the city several years before, and spent a month in his researches in Van and the vicinity. The Pasha described him as, in stature, the tallest man he had ever seen. He travelled through the country in lordly style, making magnificent presents wherever he went. He was accompanied by an interpreter, several servants, and no less than seven sumpter horses. In this manner he went into Kurdistan, where, doubtless, that upon which he depended for his security, proved his ruin. His display of wealth tempted the cupidity of a Kurdish Bey, who was entertaining him. His host dismissed him, when he was ready to depart, with a powerful guard, ostensibly as a mark of consideration and honour, but he gave the escort secret instructions to murder him on the road. On the second day of their march, the chief of the party invited him to turn aside, on pretence of visiting some ruin near at hand. As soon as they had reached a convenient place, the guard fell upon him unawares, and, before he could offer resistance, despatched him on the spot. The lesson was so instructive a one that I thought it worthy of being recorded.

Still I could not but regret, in my own case, that I had not some presents with which to repay the courtesy of the Pasha of Van. He was unwearied in his atten-

tions during my stay. Whenever I wished to go abroad, he sent me horses and gave me free permission to go where I pleased. In this way, although still in a weak state, I was able to visit every part of the town and to pursue my inquiries among all classes. The place has all the appearance of a Persian town, excepting its Turkish minarets. John remarked this on our first approach to the city. The houses are constructed of sun-dried bricks. The better sort are sometimes covered externally with plaster composed of earth and straw mixed together. Although the general appearance of the city is that of a great collection of mud-buildings, they are not individually unpleasant to the sight, when regularly and well made. The streets, however, like those of all Turkish towns, are narrow, ill-paved and filthy. The bazars also are very small and mean. There are but two khans in the place, one of which was occupied exclusively by Persian merchants, who reside here as at Bitlis. There is only one respectable bath, to which the Pasha did me the honour to invite me in company with himself.

The trade of the city is with Bitlis, Persia and Erzroum, but chiefly with the two latter. Cotton is the principal article brought from Persia, and cloths, which constitute the chief manufacture of the place, are the most common export. The distance to Erzroum is seventy-two hours, or twelve caravan stages, and the route to that city by Arnes, ten hours distant, and Melezgherd, is, I was assured, quite safe. The city is the head of a district or county of seventy-five villages, besides being the chief place of the Pashalik. The cold season continues about five months, and is, in the estimation of the inhabitants, severe. All, however,

united in extolling the salubrity and healthiness of the climate.

Tavernier, who travelled in the 17th century, reports that the majority of the inhabitants were Armenians. According to the best information which I could obtain, the same is not now true. There are between four and five thousand Mussulman families, who are chiefly, if not altogether, Turkish, and two thousand families of Armenians. A fourth part of the latter reside within the walls, and these are generally the poorest portion of the population. The city is the seat of a Bishop, who resides in a monastery two or three hours distant, and the Churches, though few in number, are served by forty priests. I could not learn that the Catholicos of Akhtamar exercises any authority over them, nor that he possesses any more than an ordinary episcopal jurisdiction. The Mussulmans have fifteen mosques and four medressehs, but all of an inferior order. They have also four schools of the ordinary kind, and the Armenians two.

I was very favourably impressed with the character both of the Mussulmans and the Armenians of Van. It appeared to me more like that of the same people in Constantinople, than I had seen since leaving Trebizond. On mentioning my impression to John, I found that he had been struck with the same resemblance; which he attributed to the fact that the intercourse of Van with the capital is much more intimate than that of any intermediate city. Large numbers of the people visit Constantinople in quest of employment, and, as the laws of the Empire will not permit them to remove their families, they return after a few years to their native place. John assured me that servants from Van were the most esteemed among the Armenians of Constantinople. My

intercourse with this people was of a most gratifying character. The more respectable among them I found unusually intelligent and consequently better able to appreciate justly any efforts for the improvement of their nation.

That part of Armenia which I traversed between Erzroum and Van presents, doubtless, a wider and more promising field for missionary labour among the Armenians, than is to be found elsewhere within the ancient borders of their empire. They have here been less disturbed by the changes of war and less oppressed by Mussulman bigotry. They have, in the cities, more of independence and equal privileges with the Mohammedans than I had before witnessed in any other part of the interior of Turkey, and, as a natural consequence, they are more intelligent and high-minded.

The picture which I have presented of the villagers is, indeed, not so favourable, but its shades are no darker than those in which the character of the Armenian peasantry throughout Asiatic Turkey must be drawn. And here let me say, once for all, that in describing them as in some respects inferior to the Mussulmans, I discard altogether the inference that Christianity, as it is now corrupted in the East, is less beneficent in its influence on character than the religion of Mohammed. The inferiority of the Christians, wherever it appears, is owing to civil not to religious causes. They are degraded by long ages of oppression. From a people more elevated than their masters now are, they have become slaves. Generous and manly feeling has been long since crushed by the iron hand of tyranny, and they have become churlish and inhospitable. Accustomed to seek every expedient to escape the incessant extortions of petty rulers, they have learned both to cringe and to deceive.

Their circumstances, not their religion, have made them what they are.

Wherever their condition is more free, their character rises in proportion. So it is among the Christians of Mesopotamia, and still more remarkably among the independent Nestorians, who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan. So it is among the Christians of European Turkey, who, though most blindly devoted to superstition, are generally cheerful, industrious and hospitable. In all these instances their civil condition is more easy, and the influence which it exerts upon their moral and intellectual character is obvious to the most casual observer. In recording, therefore, the degradation of the Christian peasantry of Turkey, I would not be understood as detracting aught from the beneficent tendencies of our holy religion, even in its lowest estate, but would rather show thereby how deeply malignant is the influence of that false faith whose features it is the main design of these pages to delineate.

Still, as an honest reporter, I cannot deny to Islamism whatever of good I have found in it, and, in this character, I must acknowledge that I have seldom seen it presenting a less repulsive aspect than in the interesting region which we have just surveyed. From Erzroum to Van, the Turks, in general, seem sincerely attached to their religion, although they hold it in a very imperfect form. They know, indeed, hardly more of it than its outward and ceremonial performances, and some of these, I thought, in many instances, I knew better than themselves. They are the most punctual in their prayers of any Mussulmans that I have ever seen, but they often seemed ignorant of the most common precepts of the Koran and the Sunneh, respecting the proper exercise of devotion. Instead of the perfect abstraction which is

required, I have frequently seen them stop in the midst of their prayers to give directions to servants, or to join the conversation which was going on around them, and then resume their devotions. This became, at length, so common, that I almost ceased to notice it. They were also in the habit of praying without having performed the prescribed ablutions, evidently unaware that there was no point of religious practice on which the Mussulman precepts are more rigid and imperative.

Irregularities of this kind made it apparent, that the whole extent of their acquaintance with Islamism, was confined to the creed, which every Mussulman invariably knows, and to a few imperfect rites. In this form, doubtless, it is handed down from father to son—a traditional knowledge, imbibed with the first impressions of childhood, and remaining unenlarged in riper years. The very few educated in the medressehs are, of course, better informed, but, after conversation with several of them, I could not discover any systematic acquaintance with the doctrines of the religion. The medressehs themselves are few, and only the lower studies are pursued in them.

The people have less of exclusiveness and prejudice against Christians than the Osmanlees. They are more free and unreserved in conversation, and their intercourse with the native Christians is remarkably intimate and cordial. I had never before heard Mussulmans speaking the language of rayahs, and, as yet, I had nowhere seen rayahs so much respected by their Mohammedan neighbours. If I may judge from my own reception, they are also more courteous towards Franks than Mussulmans generally are. This difference is, perhaps, owing in part to the fact, that their prejudices

have never been called out by contact with foreigners, for, with shame and sorrow be it said, the character of the great mass of foreigners who visit Turkey, is not such as to commend either themselves or their religion to the favour of Mussulmans.

I have only to add, that the Turks of these regions are, for the most part, in the lowest state of ignorance. With regard to the most common matters of information, their ideas are like those of a child. It is this, doubtless, which makes their religion a mere superstition, devoid of all spiritual conception. Their minds are not sufficiently elevated, nor their moral nature sufficiently enlarged, to receive any other than a low and gross thought. This, indeed, is true of the common classes of Turks every where. With such, Islamism appears to be nothing more than a purely superstitious observance of certain external rites, and, saving the formulary of the unity of the Godhead, hardly to be distinguished from Paganism. It is the performing of certain washings in a certain way, the repeating of certain prayers, not one word of which is understood, with certain genuflections and prostrations, the abstaining from certain meats and drinks, and the refraining from food during certain hours of the day, at a certain season of the year. Nothing of all this is objectionable in itself, excepting the prayers in an unknown tongue. Some Mussulmans, I know, associate these practices with spiritual ideas. But the multitude rest in the practices themselves, without any thought beyond them. The merit is in doing these prescribed things in a prescribed manner. This is their religion, that which is to save them. They tremble for themselves when they neglect them, while, at the same time, they may, without remorse, be impure in their

thoughts, deceitful, and vindictive. They are confident in proportion as they scrupulously perform them, while, in truth, their confidence is no more than a Pharisaic pride. It is Islamism appearing under this form, of which I speak when I say, that it is essentially heathenism.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOURNEY FROM VAN INTO PERSIA.

PLAN OF ROUTE—MISERIES OF TRAVELLING—VILLAGE OF SHAH BAGHI—LAKE ALTCHEK—VILLAGE—GUARD—FACE OF THE COUNTRY—EQUESTRIAN EXPLOITS—ARARAT—ABLUTIONS—MODE—BATHS—LUSTRATION BEFORE BURIAL—ABLUTION WITH EARTH—DUTY OF CONFORMITY—VILLAGES—OPPRESSED CHRISTIANITY—DIVISION OF FORCES—THE BOUNDARY—PERSIAN MULETEERS—CEREMONIAL UNCLEANNESS.

IN planning my tour at Erzroum, I had determined to make my way, if possible, directly from Van to Ourmiah in Persia. On arriving at Van, however, I learned that, although there was a route in that direction, it was never travelled, excepting, at long intervals, by armed caravans. The Pasha pronounced it impracticable, and refused to be responsible for my safety if I pursued it. He recommended to me in preference the direct route to Salmas, and offered me a guard to accompany me thither. I chose the route and accepted the offer. It was now about the middle of July, and I was desirous of reaching Tebriz by the end of the month. I, therefore, bade adieu to the excellent friend who had so generously entertained me, as soon as the state of my health warranted me in resuming my journey. I could not part, however, without emotion from the spot where I had spent so many swift-winged and happy hours.

This is the misery of travelling in strange lands, to find, though seldom, new friends, and begin to love

them, to form new local attachments and begin to cherish them, and then to break away again and throw one's self among strange scenes and strange men, again to have the heart bound by new ties, which in their turn must be severed. One feels all this in a double degree in a barbarous land, and still more deeply when the way that lies before him is encompassed with difficulties and danger. The lonely wanderer seems to himself like a weary, tempest-driven ship, seeking a haven. She enters one and for a time rides in safety from the storm. Anon the wind reaches her quiet retreat and forces her out again upon the wild, tempestuous deep. After struggling awhile against the waves and tempest, she descries another harbour and hastens towards it, there to rest a moment in fancied security, and then to be thrust forth again to contend with baffling gales and treacherous currents. Doubly miserable must be the man who, thus cast upon the ocean of life, has no haven in prospect beyond the reach of its storms, where he may at last rest in untroubled security forever and ever.

But the bustle of departure from an Eastern city leaves little time for meditation. We mounted at our lodgings and pursued our way for three miles before we reached the outskirts of the gardens. In twenty minutes more we came to a village called Shah Baghi, or The Shah's Vineyard. Here, as the people of Van affirm, Shah Abbas waited seven years to take Van. The place did, indeed, seem to have a fatality of procrastination about it, for we too were compelled to tarry three hours for the guard promised us by the Pasha, and, at last, like the Persian monarch, were fain to leave without accomplishing our object. An old Kurd, however, was sent to in-

form us that they would overtake us at night, and offered to conduct us to the appointed place of meeting.

We travelled two and a half hours, over a hilly country interspersed with plains and abounding in herds. At the end of this time, we came to the lake Altchek, which I judged by the eye to be about nine miles in circumference. We were also an hour in passing it, at the rate of three miles, which must, therefore, be about the length of its diameter, and gives the same estimate as before for its circumference. Another hour brought us to the Armenian village of the same name. Nearly all the men belonging to it were gone to Constantinople in quest of service, and the women were left to take care of the herds. They hailed our coming with joy, for only four days before, a party of Kurds had descended from the mountains and plundered the village. Our guard arrived at sunset, with orders from the Pasha to attend us as far as we chose to have their company. Our safety consisted not in their numbers, for there were only six of them, but in the fact of their being servants of the Pasha, and detached for their present service from a larger body maintained by him for the security of the villages. Their duty is to patrol the country in search of the predatory Kurds, who hold them in such fear as to decamp to the mountains on their first appearance. They were all themselves Kurds, and some of them looked like men who had once followed the profession which they now persecuted. Every man carried a sword and pistols, two or three bore spears, and the rest blunderbusses. Their chief was the same who had first escorted me into the presence of the Pasha. He was richly dressed, his armour wore the finest polish, and his horse was the best in the company.

Thus defended, we started the next morning at an

early hour. Our journey for the day lay over a country more hilly than that of yesterday, but diversified by frequent valleys and plains. The ground was everywhere covered with verdure, but destitute of trees and cultivation, nor did we see any signs of habitation, excepting a deserted village which we passed about noon. Some of the meadows were covered with long wild grass, affording rich pasturage to the caravans. We met, during the day, several troops of Kurds, darker and wilder in appearance than any we had yet seen. Another peculiarity which I observed among them, was that their horses' tails were completely sheared, leaving nothing but the bare stump. They underwent a severe scrutiny from our guard, but no evidence of their having been engaged in unlawful business was found upon them.

When there was no other object to attract their attention, the guard beguiled the tediousness of the way by practising their field manœuvres. One would suddenly break out of the rank and start off over the plain at full gallop. Another would instantly seize his spear and dart away in pursuit. Then followed the contest of agility and skill. The pursued, leaning to his saddle-bow and striking his shovel-shaped stirrup-irons into his horse's side, would scour the plain with the speed of the wind. The pursuer, holding his spear high in air and shaking it till the two ends quivered violently, would follow hard behind. If the horse of the latter were the swifter, the other would resort to every expedient for escape. Now, suddenly checking his steed, he would wheel, shoot by his pursuer and go off in another direction. Now he would turn in his saddle while his horse was at full speed, and, taking deliberate aim, would discharge his pistol against his foe; and now, when escape seemed impossible, he would suddenly wheel his horse round,

fall upon his pursuer, rush in beneath his spear before he had time to use it, and finish the struggle with his sword. While all eyes were fixed upon the mimic contest, a third horseman would ride softly up to his neighbour and crack off his pistol close to his ear; then would follow another pursuit and skirmish, and soon all, excepting the leader of the party, would be engaged. He would restore them to order when it became necessary, and sometimes keep them in a steady march for one or two hours. At other times, he would despatch a party of two or three in pursuit of a distant company of Kurds, or would himself ascend the adjoining hills to survey the country around.

As we were moving along in this way, I descried, on a sudden, a solitary peak, in shape like the top of a man's finger, peering above the summits of the mountains which bounded our view on the north, and distinguished from them by its white cap of snow. It was Ararat, old Ararat, and this was the first and last glimpse I had of it. At the middle of the afternoon, the leader called a halt to allow the men space for prayers. For this purpose he selected a spot near a running stream, in which they all performed their ablutions. The Easterns, or at least the Turks, perform all their purifications in running water. It is the same in the bath, at the table, in the mosque and abroad. The reason is that the impurities detached by the operation may be at once carried away. The idea is a good one, and might perhaps be practised upon in the Western world to good advantage. In this way the cleansing would be much more effectual than in water standing in a basin or a bathing-tub.

I may here add, that the different kinds of ablutions enumerated in the Catechism are all of religious obliga-

tion.* The first is when some defilement has been contracted which requires the washing of the whole body. This is generally done in the bath. Both in Turkey and Persia, there are certain days, or hours of the day, in which women only are admitted to the baths. In some of the cities there are baths appropriated exclusively to the use of females. Many rich Turks have private baths connected with their houses, and these in Constantinople are often furnished in the most sumptuous style. The bath, therefore, is not an object of luxury merely, but a religious edifice. The occasions which require the first kind of ablution are mostly of such a character that they cannot be mentioned. The prescriptions concerning them are defined and dwelt upon with the most tedious and indelicate minuteness, in Mussulman books of religion. They are also made frequent subjects of the lectures in the mosques. I have known things to be uttered at such times, which, excepting that they were said with seriousness and conscientious, though superstitious, feeling, would hardly be tolerated in a brothel. These things, however, are chiefly corruptions of the Sunneh, and although some, remote allusion to them is necessary in delineating the religion as it is, they are not to be laid to the account of Mohammed, nor considered as essential to Islamism.

The only instance of the washing now under consideration of which it is becoming to speak more minutely, is the lavation of the dead. This is required to be done before burial, the design being that the body may be placed in a pure state into the grave, where the soul is to return to it and to undergo the examination of the two angels, previous to the determination of its condition

* See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 29.

until the day of judgment. For this purpose, small houses, or kiöshks, are sometimes erected in the burying grounds, as is particularly observable in Constantinople.

The third ablution—with earth or sand—appears at first sight a singular mode of producing cleanliness. It is, however, prescribed in the Koran, but is intended to be used only where water cannot be had, as in travelling, or where sickness renders its application injudicious. The purification is performed, in this instance, by placing the palm of the hand to the earth and rubbing it over the prescribed parts.

The second kind of ablution is that commonly practiced before prayer. I shall speak of it elsewhere. Our Kurds stripped themselves of their armour and performed it by the side of the stream. I was strongly tempted to follow their example, so far as to engage in my own devotions at the same time, knowing how common it is for Mussulmans to imagine that Franks never pray, because they are never seen to engage in the exercise. My repugnance, however, to publicity in such duties was not as yet overcome, but subsequent experience convinced me that a most salutary influence may be exerted on the minds of Mussulmans by sometimes sacrificing, in this respect, the scruples of education and habit to a desire to do good.

The spot where our party offered their prayers, was within sight of the village where we were to spend the night. Before reaching it, however, we passed a larger one entirely deserted. The inhabitants, who were Nestorians, had decamped in a body and gone into Persia. Our lodging-place was inhabited by people of the same name, the first of the race which I saw. They are, here and in Persia, styled *Nasrani*. Those in Arab

Souik, as the village was called, had a Church, but were without a priest. They appeared degraded and miserable, and I could not but observe, with bitterness of spirit, how much they dreaded the approach of our Mussulman company. Poor and despised, they linger here upon the soil of their fathers, exposed to the incursions of hostile Kurds and the hardly less cruel oppression of Mohammedan masters. While surveying the low estate of the Churches of the East and the iron bondage under which they groan, I have often thought that I could imagine and excuse the zeal which inspired Peter, the Hermit, to invoke the power of Christian Europe in their behalf.

The next morning, the chief of our escort came to me and represented that we had now reached the last village in Turkey, and that it was unnecessary for all the men that accompanied us, to cross the mountains into *Ajemistan*,* that two or three, being known as representatives of the Pasha, would be of equal service with a dozen, and finally that it was his wish to draw off with four of the party and go in search of the Kurds who had committed the recent depredations. I told him, in reply, that I was entrusted to his care, and that he was responsible for my safety, but that, if he could take the course he desired conscious of his responsibility, he was free to do so. He assured me, in return, that he should not dare to leave me if he were not entirely satisfied that I should still be under sufficient protection, and I knew the nature and responsibility of his service well enough to be assured of the same. I therefore made no opposition to his request, and we prepared to separate. He selected from his party two of his best men and assigned

* *The country of Barbarians*—The Turkish name for Persia.

them to me, with instructions to see me safe under the protection of the Governor of Salmas. They promised by Allah faithfully to perform the commission, and, having made a handsome present to the leader, we mounted and rode away. Before we were out of hearing, he had ordered his men to horse.

Our course had thus far been N. E. We now turned towards the S. E. and pursued that direction until we reached Salmas. About an hour after leaving Arab Souik, we were among the mountains, (the same that we had been tracing all the way from Bitlis,) and crossing the boundary between the two great Mohammedan Empires of the East. I remember still, as though it were yesterday, with what joy I thought of exchanging Turkish rudeness and reserve for Persian politeness and affability. Little did I know what was to be my experience on this score. But I will not anticipate. The mountains which stand as the great barrier between the hostile sects of Islamism, present, on the side of Turkey, an abrupt and bold range, and we almost expected, when we reached its first summits, to look down upon the far-stretching plains of Persia. But when we arrived at the appointed height, nothing appeared before us but a boundless region of mountain-tops bristling in every direction. Our path lay among them during the whole day. Sometimes we were compelled to dismount in order to scramble up the steep acclivities, and sometimes our horses found it most convenient to set their feet firm and slide down the almost precipitous descents. The asperities of the road increased, rather than diminished, as we advanced. Upon the summit of the loftiest peak which we scaled, we passed a burying ground of the Kurds, who inhabit these elevated regions in the summer, but we saw nothing of the people themselves.

We stopped but once during the march, and then to snatch a hasty meal. Our bags furnished nothing but a flap* of the coarse bread of Arab Souik, and we applied to some Persian muleteers, who had alighted for the same purpose near us, for a little water. They had nothing but a jug, which they refused to loan unless we were provided with a drinking cup. Happily we had one. I asked my guard the explanation of this untimely delicacy. He said that they feared that the touch of our lips, if applied to their vessel, would pollute it. The interpretation, perhaps, was just, but it was not confirmed by what followed, for the leader of the caravan did not scruple to drink a portion of our coffee from our own cups. Whether the temptation of so rare a beverage disarmed his doubts, I am not able to affirm. I must, however, forewarn the reader that, on all points relating to ceremonial cleanness, the Persians are much more punctilious than the Turks, and carry their superstition much farther. The Jumah Abasi reckons infidels, (that is, all who are not Mussulmans,) among those impure things whose touch pollutes. The pollution, moreover, is too deeply seated to be eradicated by any external process. Conversion alone can cleanse them. It is a disputed question among the Persian doctors, whether an infidel falling into a reservoir of water would pollute it equally with a dead dog.

It is in respect to these things that Mohammedanism bears one of its strongest resemblances to Islamism. The former too is corrupted in the Sunneh very much as the latter is in the Talmud. The Persian manuals

* The bread most commonly found in the interior of Turkey is made in thin flexible sheets, which a man can roll up and put in his pocket.

of religion are particularly minute on these points. The Jumah Abasi contains protracted prescriptions concerning them, drawn out to the most wearisome and disgusting minuteness. It details also a list of animals and things whose touch is to be reputed unclean. The chief of these are dogs and swine, intoxicating liquids, dead animals of all kinds and men of other religions. The books, indeed, are so punctilious on these points that they have immense difficulty in so arranging them that a Mussulman shall not be in incessant danger of pollution. The devices for this purpose are sufficiently curious. The sun is made to dry up the impurities to which the ground is subjected, as well as all the accidental ones which befal garments and carpets. Blood pollutes, but not the blood of insects. By this happy reservation, the whole host of those inferior animals which fall under this category and which swarm in every Eastern house, are saved from molestation. Such little creatures as musquitos, gnats, fleas, and many others of a kindred character, are pronounced clean, because, as it is sagely said, the blood does not circulate in them.

CHAPTER XVII.

FAREWELL TO KURDISTAN.

RECEPTION TA A KURDISH VILLAGE—THE NESTORIAN—DEPREDATIONS—VILLAGE MOSQUES—THE IMAM—MANNER OF HIS APPOINTMENT—HIS OFFICIAL CHARACTER AND DUTIES—MISSIONARY LABOUR AMONG THE KURDS—DEPARTURE FROM THE APOSTOLIC MODEL—CHARACTER OF THE KURDS—JOURNEY TO SALMAS—FIRST RECEPTION IN PERSIA—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—THE MOLLAH—MESSAGE FROM A TURKISH LADY—SALMAS.

OUR guide had promised to convey us to Salmas on the third night after leaving Van. But when the sun went down, Salmas was still fifteen miles distant, and our horses, which had borne us from Van, were ready to fall with fatigue. We, therefore, made a halt, and debated the matter in general council. My first desire was to proceed and reach Salmas that night, both because I wished to finish my week's work on Saturday, and because the mountains over which we were travelling, did not bear so unblemished a reputation that I should be willing to spend a night among them. I was, however, overruled both by voices and necessity. Most of the party declaimed against night travelling in such a region, and the condition of our horses settled the question without appeal. We, therefore, sent forward one of the guard to a village not far distant, to prepare lodgings for us.

When we arrived, the villagers hailed us with a cordiality that we were not wont to see. They spread carpets for us out of doors, prepared our coffee, and provided us with bread and yoghourt. The idea of pass-

ing a night with them began to be a pleasant one, when, after our appetite was satisfied and night was drawing on, it was intimated to us, upon our asking to be conducted to our lodgings, that arrangements had been made with the guard, that we should be forwarded three hours farther to a castle in the mountains, where a Khan lived who would give us due reception. When this disclosure was made, John took the liberty to intimate, in our behalf, that we were tired, our horses exhausted, and the road dangerous, and that, no choice being left to us, we should be under the necessity of depending upon the hospitality of Broushoran, for the night. The kind looks with which we were received, instantly fell, and one after another of those who had favoured us with their presence, slunk away to their houses, until, at last, we were left alone, sitting on our carpets in the outskirts of the village.

Such occasions as this, were those upon which John's qualities of energy and decision shone pre-eminent. He rose, without waiting for orders, and followed the last of the retiring villagers among the houses. For some time I could hear his voice, now in warm expostulation and now in harsher tones, demanding, entreating, and promising. One key or the other prevailed, for he soon returned with the intelligence that he had procured a shelter for us.

The old man who received us was a Nestorian. He and his son were the only Christians in the village, all the rest being Kurds. I thought I could see in the welcome that he gave us, something of the softening influence of his religion. I was pleased, at least, with imagining that he received us because he was a Christian, and I felt at once drawn to him by the simple fact that he was one. I could not forbear asking him how he could en-

dure to abide among men of a strange faith. He replied that he had formerly belonged to the deserted village which we passed yesterday, that all the inhabitants, wearied by the incessant extortions practised upon them by the Pasha, had withdrawn and fled into Persia. Most of them had gone farther to the North, and had established a new village. "I," he continued, "am an old man, I have but a few days to live; it matters not where they are spent."

This was the first and last time that I was refused the rites of hospitality in a Kurdish village, and, doubtless, in this instance, it was owing to that contracted and selfish spirit which is begotten by long oppression. The villagers lived in constant terror from the Kurds, who, if their own statements are to be credited, never failed to come down upon them as soon as they are recovered from the consequences of the last depredation. I inquired how these robberies were effected. "The Kurds," they said, "come upon us suddenly, before we have time to escape, and in such numbers that resistance is useless, and then proceed to collect and pack upon their animals whatever they find in our houses, and, at last, depart, driving away before them the best part of our herds. They seldom commit murder or use much violence, unless resisted, but, if any opposition is made, they slaughter without mercy." Such was the story of the villagers, and, doubtless, it is in its main features correct. We saw evidence that they had provided for their security as well as circumstances would permit. Near the village they had built a solitary tower, as a place of refuge in case of need. A watch was also kept up in the village throughout the night. Men armed to the teeth were on patrol till morning, and large dogs were

on the alert, which kept us awake most of the night with their baying.

In the evening, we heard the voice of the Imam from a neighbouring house calling to prayers, for, though too poor, as they said, to build a mosque, they sustained as well as they could, the services of their religion. It is not uncommon to find in these countries, and throughout Turkey, villages destitute of mosques, but I remember no instance of one in which the public worship of Islamism was not, in some way, maintained. The Imam is properly the priest of the religion. His duty is to conduct public prayers, and he performs the services of circumcision, marriages, and burials. In the city he has the spiritual care of the quarter in which his mosque stands, but, in most of the villages, his flock comprises the whole population. He is greatly respected, and his relations to the people are most intimate and friendly. In the village he is always the first man, the general adviser, the composer of difficulties, and the arbiter in dispute. He is usually supported by the free-will offerings of the people, consisting commonly of the products of the earth, and by the small stipend which he receives as teacher of all the children in the village.

The mode of his appointment is sufficiently singular. In cities and large towns, it is made by the superintendants of the mosques, (who are the trustees of their funds and overseers of their secular concerns,) in connection with the Oulema, or learned men. In the villages, it is generally by the voice of the people, confirmed, however, by a firman from Constantinople. The man may be one of themselves, but is generally the one who has the highest pretensions to knowledge. Often, however, the station is supplied by candidates sent from the medressehs of Constantinople. No great amount of learning

is necessary, and the Imam assumes his office without any form of consecration to it. He is, in the eye of the religion, one of the company of the Faithful, (who are all equal in privileges,) set apart, for a season, to conduct the worship of the sanctuary.

Having received his appointment by the Oulema, who are themselves without official rank, or by the peasantry of his own village, and this being confirmed by the will of the Sultan, who, in this instance, perhaps, acts rather in his spiritual than his civil character, he is an acknowledged minister of the religion. It is lawful for him to be still engaged in secular concerns, but this is not common, excepting in the instance of the village Imam, who is uniformly, also, the village school-master. He has no official habiliments, but is generally distinguished by his peculiarly white and neat turban, and the long cloak which he commonly wears. He lives, if he pleases, in the connubial state, the same latitude, in this respect, being allowed to him as to every other Mussulman. He may, at any moment, lay aside his office, and may pass in an instant, from a minister of religion to a civilian. He has no superior minister above him, and is generally dependent, for the tenure of his office, upon the good-will of the people. So equal among the Faithful are the rights and privileges of the religion, that any private individual may assume the office of Imam, for half an hour, whenever a company of Mussulmans remote from a mosque, wish to perform the public prayers. They have only to constitute themselves a congregation by appointing one of their number to be the Imam, which is literally the Leader, in their worship. In this case, however, the public Call to Prayer must be given.

As, on leaving Broushoran, we leave, altogether, the

Kurdish population, until we enter among them again on the South Western border of Persia, it may not be amiss to state here, in few words, my impression with regard to the practicability of missionary effort among them. Were there any to go to them with the spirit of the Apostles, abandoning, for Christ's sake, every thing on earth, and unrestrained by family ties, they might be instrumental in planting among those wild mountains the standard of the cross. Multitudes of this people, residing in villages, might also be reached by missionaries in the large cities. There is no part of Kurdistan where they can be approached so nearly as on this route, none, at least, where they also retain, as here, their distinctive character and habits. In the case of a mission established in the cities, the best means of approaching them would be through the Christians; the work would, in that case, naturally extend itself to the settled Kurds, dwelling, in many instances, in the same villages with the Armenians. A missionary family could reside in Moush, or in Van. The numerous villages in the vicinity of the former place would render it a very important centre.

The chief benefits of these missions, however, would be confined to the Christians, and, doubtless, there are not three other places in the whole of ancient Armenia, which present such advantages for missionary labour among the Armenians, as Moush, Bitlis, and Van. The effect of such a mission upon the Kurds would be slower and later. If they are to be reached immediately and effectually, it must be by a more simple, indeed, but a more self-denying kind of labour. They must be visited as heathen men were visited in the times of the Apostles, by devoted soldiers of the Cross throwing themselves among them at such hazards as only a primitive faith

can endure to contemplate. If the idea of encountering these dangers appears chimerical, is it not because the standard of our faith has fallen far below the elevation which it held among the early followers of Christ?

However this may be, we know that the grand scope of the commission given to the ministry of the Church must, if the Church itself is unchanged, of necessity, embrace now the same design which it embraced at first —"all the world and every creature." We know too that the first ministers of Christ, whose example, in this respect, must be regarded as a practical avowal of the understanding which they put upon the commission under which they acted, we know, I say, that they carried the tidings of salvation through Christ, to men as barbarous as now inhabit the fastnesses of Kurdistan, and at the cost of as great sufferings as the bearers of the same tidings to the Kurds would be called to endure. Why is it, then, that we contemplate such an enterprise with terror, or reject the idea of it as the product of a visionary zeal? Is it not, because we have lost the true, original idea of the ministerial commission; because we distrust the faithfulness of the promise conjoined with it; because, in a word, the Church of Christ has left her first love?

The Kurds have no literature, nor is their language a written tongue. It is, I believe, cognate with the Persian. On my return from Persia, where I devoted considerable time to the acquisition of the last-mentioned language, I could often understand something of the conversation of Kurds, by the great number of Persian words which I heard in it. A few books of poetry in their own tongue, but written in the Arabic character, compose all their literature of which I have any knowledge. As a people, however, I believe them to be su-

perior to any other in the East. Living between the Turks and the Persians, they are neither sullen and heavy, like the former, nor soft and guileful, like the latter. The ferocious and degraded race who wander from place to place among the mountains, the settled Kurds do not acknowledge as belonging to themselves. The latter are generally of a different stamp. Their openness, manly independence, frank and generous feelings, and their liveliness and quickness of mind, will present nothing hostile to the reception of Christianity, and indicate, moreover, that, when subdued by it, they must become, indeed, a noble and peculiar people.

The following day was Sunday, and I debated long with myself whether I should remain at Broushoran or proceed to Salmas. With some hesitation I adopted the latter course, after reflecting that my situation at the village was a dangerous one, that the day, if spent there, would be interrupted by incessant visits from the villagers, while, the ride to Salmas being short, I might arrive there in season to pass most of it in some retired corner in a caravanserai. I gave orders, therefore, to mount, and we proceeded on our way. Our course was a constant descent, at first by a craggy path, cut out, as it were, from the bold face of a precipice, in some parts so narrow that a single false step of our horses would have plunged us into the abyss below, and afterwards through long and winding valleys.

We passed several villages. Near one, called Derik, inhabited by Persians, were several warm mineral springs of sulphur and iron. Two of them were enclosed, and used by the villagers for bathing. Another was an Armenian village entirely deserted. Its lonely church still crowned the top of the hill on which the village stood. The sight of it brought vividly to mind the sanctuaries

of God in a far distant land, where I knew thousands would gather upon this holy day for a pure and spiritual worship. Oh, if those who gather there duly appreciated the inestimable privileges which they enjoy, how ready would they be to disperse the hoarded treasures of the Gospel, to the millions who perish for the lack of heavenly food.

Our course turned more Southerly as we approached Salmas, until, at length, the town itself broke upon us with its verdant gardens, its wide-spread plain, and, in the distance, the North-West corner of the Lake of Ourmiah. The scene was entirely Persian, and we felt at once that we had entered a new country. The contrast was equally striking in the reception that we met. In Turkey, on arriving at a town, the traveller has only to present his firman to the governor, to secure for himself respectable lodgings; in Persia, firmans are unknown, and the traveller is often glad to find a shelter for himself in the meanest caravanserai. In Turkish towns, there was always some one to help us to dismount, and to draw off our unwieldy travelling boots; in Salmas, a crowd gathered about us to gaze and inquire, but no one would render us any service. In Turkey, the arrival of a traveller excites no stir, no man rises from his place to ask after him, no impertinent throng collects about him to annoy him with comments and questions; we had hardly dismounted in Salmas, before half the town were gathered in the court of the caravanserai, where they stared at us and remarked upon us as freely as if they were republicans. When we endeavoured to rid ourselves of them, they laughed at us and made sport of us.

The caravanserai at which we had alighted, was a mud-building, some twelve feet high, erected, as usual, about a court, but containing no other accommodations

than rows of cells about six feet square, opening upon the court, without doors, and entirely unfurnished within. I inquired for the Khan, or governor of the place, but he was residing in Dilman, a few miles distant on the plain. I made inquiries concerning him, but received in reply such discrepant statements that I knew not which to believe. I told my informants so, when John interposed to remind me that I should find every body in Persia a liar. "Yes," said an old man, whose tottering form proved that he had nearly completed the allotted career of three-score and ten, "Yes, we always lie when we can." I looked at him in utter amazement, but I could not discover from his expression that he had not intended to speak for once a grave truth. I began to imbibe some first impressions of Persian character.

All my efforts to obtain more commodious lodgings being unsuccessful, I betook myself from the burning sun, to one of the cells of the caravanserai, and sat down upon the ground in a corner, to spend Sunday. Ere long a Mollah of the place came in. Taking us to be Osmanlees, he saluted us courteously, and expressed a polite surprise that we had not come at once to his house, assuring us of the great felicity he should have had in entertaining us. We intimated in reply that, not having had the pleasure of knowing him before we arrived in Persia, we were not aware of his benevolent regard for us. I thought within myself that his hospitable design would be just as effectually accomplished by inviting us then; but this simple expedient did not seem to occur to him. Having occasion soon after to say something privately to John concerning our own affairs, I spoke to him in French. I then saw, for the first time, by the looks of the Mollah, that he had taken us for Mussulmans, and was now undeceived. I was very glad of it,

for I should not have relished his hospitality if imparted upon such a supposition.

Immediately upon hearing that the Khan was absent, I had dispatched one of the Kurds who accompanied us, to Dilman, with a letter from the Pasha of Van, commending us to his hospitality. The messenger did not return till evening, and then brought the intelligence that the Khan had left Dilman, and was spending a few weeks in one of the villages. He was accompanied, however, by a servant from the house of a Turkish Effendi, resident in Dilman, who announced to us that his master having gone to Tebriz, and left his house in charge of his wife, she had sent for us to be her guests. The communication filled me with surprise, but the servant being a Turk, and the Kurd testifying to his veracity, I could not doubt the authenticity of the message. It being Sunday, however, I determined to remain where I was till the next day, and, in the mean time, sent back the servant to make my selam to his mistress, and inform her that I would be her guest on the morrow.

Salmas was formerly the chief town of the district in which it lies, but the residence of the Khan is now removed to Dilman, and Salmas, deserted by the greater part of its population, who were Armenians and emigrated to Russia after the last war with that country, is now no more than a village. Some remains in the vicinity of the town attest its antiquity and its former importance.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JOURNEY FROM SALMAS TO OURMIAH.

A Mohammedan Catholic—Mohammedan Sectarians—Dilman—Assassinations—A Day's Journey—Sleeping on the House-tops—Persian School—Plain of Ourmiah—Mission-House—Missionaries—Policy of the Mission—Approaching Crisis—Our Duty—Work of the English and American Churches.

On Monday morning we rode over the plain to Dilman, perhaps five miles distant, and when we arrived, received a cordial welcome at the house of Roushan Effendi, whose lady had sent us the invitation mentioned in the last chapter. The Effendi, himself, was reported to me as an indifferent Mussulman. He is a dervish of the Bektashi order, an order distinguished for the laxness of their principles and their conduct. An Osmanlee by birth, he has read enough to disregard sects, and professes to be a Mussulman above prejudice. The Persians of Dilman, however, look upon these Catholic pretensions with distrust, and affirm that he is a Shiah or Sunnite, as suits his convenience. He has erected a mosque on his grounds, which partakes of the dubious nature of his faith, having a Persian dome and a Turkish minaret. His house bore the same equivocal character. The apartment into which we were received, was constructed in Persian, and furnished in Turkish style. There was, however, no equivoque about our reception; whether Persian or Turkish, it was hearty and cordial. Three or four servants were in

constant attendance upon us, and every wish was gratified. We did not, of course, see our fair entertainer, nor was any allusion made to her while we were in the house.

The Khan being absent, an inferior officer supplied his place so far as to answer the letter of the Pasha of Van. The answer conveyed our own respects, together with the intelligence that we had reached Dilman in safety. This we delivered to our two Kurds, and, adding to it a present for themselves, sent them away. From the hour that we entered Persia, they had not ceased to bear their testimony against the corruption and wickedness of the Shiahs, whenever they had an opportunity of doing so without being overheard by the objects of their indignation. They lost all their cheerfulness the moment that we crossed the border, and recovered it again only when they received permission to depart. It was near night when they left us, but they vowed, as they mounted their horses, that they would not move foot from stirrup, until they were out of the land of the Shiahs.

Dilman appears to have risen into importance since the decline of Salmas. It is entirely a Mussulman town, and, with a population of about 2000, has several mosques and four schools. The plain contains numerous villages, with a population chiefly Christian. Their number was stated to me to be sixty-two, but, as my authority was not of the best kind, I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the information. The Christian population consists of Armenians, Nestorians, and Chaldeans, the last being proselytes from the Nestorians to the Church of Rome. These are, so far as my information extends, the only adherents of that Church among the Nestorians of Persia. They have a Bishop at

Khosrova, who is a zealous and efficient promoter of the Papal interests. The bazars of Dilman are small, and the place, upon the whole, is one of humble pretensions. During the year that I had spent in Turkey, I had heard of only one assassination, and this one was perpetrated by a servant upon his master, who had discarded him. It was done in the mosque of St. Sophia, while the master was bowed in prayer, and was followed, within a few hours, by the death of the murderer. During the day which I spent in Dilman, an act of the same kind was perpetrated in the dead of night, and a few days after, two more in the city of Ourmiah. I heard of no others in Persia. The singularity of these instances is, doubtless, to be attributed to the well-known brutality of the Mussulmans in the districts of Salmas and Ourmiah.

We left Dilman before day. The full moon, declining in the West, shed her light over the plain, and on the distant lake. Our course lay Southerly, through ripe fields of grain, which diffused around the fragrance of harvest-time. At early dawn we observed husbandmen at work. It was now the 18th of July, and they were gathering in their crops. The sun came up gloriously in the East, just as we entered the mountains. At a village where we stopped for breakfast, we were greeted with the tidings, that an English traveller had been robbed a few days before in the neighbourhood. We had been congratulating ourselves that danger was past when we left the region of the Kurds, and were, therefore, by no means agreeably moved when one of the villagers informed us, that we might reasonably expect a similar rencontre before night. Nothing, however, occurred to verify the prediction. The country

appeared wild and desolate enough for the purpose, but we met no one competent to execute it.

We stopped about mid-day at a village called Tchumgarah, not far from the lake, and, to relieve our horses, determined to remain there till the next morning. No one was willing to receive us under his roof, so we spent the day beneath a tree near the village, pestered incessantly by the Persians and the flies. At night we obtained lodgings on a house-top, and slept, doubtless, more comfortably than we should have done within. The roofs of Persian houses are always terraced, and, being covered with hard earth and defended by parapets of the same material, they are more agreeable for walking and sitting than the streets below. When the villages are built compactly, one may go over the greater part of them on the house-tops, as I have repeatedly done. In the summer, the villagers spread their beds upon them in the open air, a custom of which I was first made aware the following morning, when, on rising and looking over the parapet, I saw the family on the next roof engaged at their toilet, and another, just beyond, still wrapped in slumber.

The rest of the way to Ourmiah was over a level country, lying between the mountains and the lake. We passed a station of *Rahdars*, or collectors of custom, whose business it is to impose duties upon all merchandise which passes along the route. They were seated upon the roof when we went by, looking out for their prey. They seemed, at first, disposed to light upon us, but our muleteer, who was a Persian of Dilman, soon satisfied them that we were not fit game for them. We stopped at a village called Ghulunju, about three hours travel from Ourmiah, where we had an opportunity of witnessing the exercises of a Persian school.

They were, so far as I could perceive, the same with what I had often seen in Turkey. The reading was confined to the Koran, and was accompanied by the sing-song utterance and the see-saw motion of the body practised among the Sunnites. The teacher occasionally reprimanded a pupil for not sustaining his chant well, or for not performing the vibrations with sufficient activity and skill. Our passage across the plain was rendered difficult by the numerous water-courses which ran in every direction, for the purposes of irrigation. The greater part of the land was under cultivation, and we passed through extensive tracts of rice, cotton, and grain. We came upon the city almost before we were aware of its proximity. It lay low upon the plain, like the villages around it, but was distinguished by a high mud wall and a deep moat.

I was drawn to Ourmiah, which lay considerably out of my route to Tebriz, by the desire of visiting the interesting mission of the American Board established there. The missionaries had been already apprised of my coming, and received me with the utmost cordiality. The week that I tarried in the city, was pleasantly spent in the Mission-House. The families, which were four in number, lived within the same enclosure, near the walls of the city. Their houses occupied two sides of a court, which was sheltered on the other sides by high walls, and beautifully adorned with large trees, in which numerous birds, silent all the day, sung their matins and vespers. Though in the midst of the city, the situation is remarkably secluded. Behind one of the houses is an extensive garden, in which I noticed, besides the fruits and other products of the country, the potato, first introduced into Persia, I believe, by Sir John Malcolm, who,

to join great things with small, has also bestowed upon Europe the most ample history of the country.

With the families of Messrs. Holliday and Stocking, I had formed some acquaintance in Constantinople, where they had tarried for a few weeks, in the spring of 1837, on their way to Persia. With Mr. Perkins I had had some correspondence by letter, but now saw both him and Dr. Grant, for the first time. Besides these, there was present, at that time, the Rev. Mr. Merrick, who had preceded me in Persia in the work of investigation among the Mohammedans. There were, therefore, including the ladies of the mission, no less than ten Americans gathered in this distant and retired spot, a greater number, doubtless, than had ever before visited Persia.

During my visit, I had a full opportunity to become acquainted with the policy and the prospects of the mission. Although, from the reports which I had heard and read, I had formed very high expectations concerning it, they were surpassed by the reality. Its policy is highly conservative. It aims not at the overthrow of the Nestorian Church, to which its labours are almost exclusively directed. The missionaries do not interfere, in the least degree, with the religious practices of the Nestorians. Even those under their immediate charge are left free to attend the worship of their Church, and to observe its fasts and festivals. They aim only to impart religious knowledge drawn from the Word of God, and secular learning of a useful character. This is as it should be. It is the most politic, as well as the most catholic system. It is to be hoped that they will persevere in it.

The time may come when the Nestorians, enlightened by a spiritual knowledge of God's Holy Word, may find that their Church has, in some respects, departed

from the purity of Apostolic faith and practice. A spirit of inquiry may rise, and this may be followed by a disposition to reform whatever is corrupt. That time will be a day of trial, when those who are now labouring for the welfare of the Nestorians, will need a double portion of the spirit of wisdom and love. They will not then be found, we confidently believe, either aiming at or countenancing any attempt to mar whatever is now sound. The Episcopal ministry and the liturgy of the Nestorian Church, are no part of its corruptions. The former they hold, like all the Churches of the East, from the Apostles; so they and we believe. The latter, if it is the same among the Nestorians of Persia as among those of Mesopotamia, is regarded as having been, in part at least, framed by the Apostles themselves.* With such institutions it were worse than impolitic, it were, in our view, sin to interfere. A blow struck at either would be more disastrous to the mission than to the Church. We do not fear that it will be struck on the plain of Ourmiah. We firmly believe that the missionaries will ever, as now, refrain from all interference with the constitution and government of the Nestorian Church.

But we fear that the time may come when this will not be enough, when missionaries among the Eastern Churches must not only abstain from the introduction of schism themselves, but, if they do their whole duty, must lend their aid to prevent its originating within the bosom of the Churches. The revival of spiritual religion we can hardly hope to see effected, without agitation. Minds impelled by the ardour of new religious

* The oldest member of the mission in Ourmiah assured me, that there was very little, if any thing, in the liturgy of the Nestorians which he wished to see changed.

feeling, will be ready to break away from the body which, from their new point of vision, appears to them a mass of corruption. Other minds, upon which no change has passed, will cling to their old superstitions, and will be prompt to persecute those who depart from them. Then, if no preventive be used, will arise commotion and conflict. Horrid schism will lift up itself from beneath, and rend and scatter the quivering members of the Body of Christ. Who can contemplate such a scene without a deep revulsion of every pious feeling? Who would not rather see, if possible, the good accomplished, without, in itself, so pernicious an accompaniment as separation, secession, and division?

The only mode in which reformation may be made to go hand in hand with peace and unity, is by carrying forward the work equally in all its parts. Preservation must be made an end as well as purity. Missionaries must not only abstain from recommending innovations themselves, they must train such as are submitted to their instructions, in the love of the Churches to which they belong. They must curb, by prudent counsels, the ardent spirit of those who may come to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Christ. They must teach them to reverence their Bishops, to abide where they are in the bosom of their Church, to submit whenever they can with a good conscience, to labour quietly to extend the spiritual dominion of Christ among their brethren, and to abstain from bold and hasty denunciations, even of what is wrong.

It is here, we fear, our brethren of other denominations will fall short of what we hold to be the Catholic rule. If they content themselves with merely a neutral position, they will, we believe, overlook the very point of danger. And yet, how can they in consistency

go farther? Regarding the Episcopal ministry of the Eastern Churches as having no better foundation than expediency, esteeming their use of a liturgy as rather an imperfection than a praise, entertaining for them none of that sympathy and benevolent regard which arises from a similarity of ecclesiastical institutions, they may think it too much to ask, it is certainly too much to expect, that they should labour to uphold and preserve the unity and external order of the Eastern Churches. They will take, we are persuaded, the highest conservative ground to which their belief in the indifference of things that we regard essential, will lead them; but they will go no farther.

Yet something farther is needed, and to whom shall the work be assigned? There are Churches in the West which hold the same ministry, preserve the same creed, worship in the same forms, and observe, in many respects, the same ritual with the Churches of the East. Here is a sure bond of union, a ground for friendly correspondence, a wide open field for influence and usefulness. Taught by the Apostle to do good especially to the household of faith, will they forget their brethren in the East? Can they forget and be innocent? Will they stand aloof and see the institutions which they love, endangered, when their influence, above every other, may, under God, prevent the calamity?

But there are higher and holier motives. Brought out themselves from the bondage of corruption, have they no desire to proclaim liberty to those who are still in subjection to it? Possessed of facilities and advantages which no other Christian community can bring to the same work, will they suffer them to lie in the earth like unimproved talents? Will they, who should be the first, be, in truth, the last to come up to an enterprise of

love peculiarly their own? Will the Churches of England and America always sleep at the post of duty? No, we will not, we cannot believe it. They will yet arise, and go forth in the strength of the Lord of Hosts. They will extend the helping hand of charity to the oppressed, though erring, Churches of the East. They will lead them on, with a kind and gentle guidance, to knowledge and truth. They will gather them, with the Divine blessing, into the spiritual fold of Christ.

CHAPTER XIX.

OURMIAH.

PLAN OF THE MISSION — CLERICAL PUPILS — THE NESTORIANS — MOUNTAIN TRIBE—CONFIDENCE IN THE MISSIONARIES—CAUSE—RELIGIOUS SERVICES—CLIMATE—MOUNDS—PLAIN OF OURMIAH—THE GOVERNOR—PERSIAN HABITS—THE LOST IMAM—VISIT TO A VILLAGE—POPULARITY OF THE MISSIONARY PHYSICIAN—RECEPTION AT THE VILLAGE.

THE plan of labour adopted by the missionaries in Ourmiah, is, perhaps, the most judicious that could be devised. They aim at raising a native agency, to assume and carry out their own benevolent design. For this purpose, they had already established an interesting school of boys. They were, at the time of my visit, forty in number, and ten of them were learning English. They are under the entire control of the missionaries, being surrendered to them by their parents—a condition most wise, and absolutely essential to the success of the plan. These boys, all of whom, with one or two exceptions, appeared by their intelligent looks to promise well, are to be carried through a complete training, in preparation for active service among their countrymen. They reside upon the premises, and are constantly under the eye of the missionaries. Their studies are, therefore, pursued without interruption, and abundant opportunity is offered to mould their minds by the influence of example and incidental instruction. They

are boarded at the expense of the mission, the cost being only about twenty-five cents per week for each pupil.

Besides these there were a Bishop, three priests, a deacon and an intelligent lad, residing in the families of the missionaries, and receiving instruction from them. The Bishop, Mar Yohanna, was a very agreeable man, rather mirthful in disposition, and as unpretending in appearance and manners as a child. I was glad to notice, on many occasions, that, though he was a learner with the missionaries, respect was paid to his official rank. He and the other clerical pupils ate at the same table with the missionaries, where they appeared, besides their other gettings, to have acquired a competent knowledge of Western manners. One or another of them was invited to ask a blessing, or offer thanks, at every meal, which they did, in their own language, with great propriety. They had also a pleasant custom of repeating each a verse from the Bible in English or Syriac, every morning at breakfast. The simplicity and entire decorum of their manners were very gratifying. They observe, punctually, the duties enjoined by their Church, and keep their fasts as regularly and fully as if they were in their own families.

Prayers in the modern language of the Nestorians, which is a corruption of the ancient Syriac, are said in the school. The apartment is in the basement of one of the houses, and is arranged after the style of American school-rooms. The only exercise which I witnessed there was in writing. The teacher, who was a priest, repeated a sentence, which was then written by one of the boys on the black-board and copied by the others in sand or on slates.

The Nestorians of Persia reside chiefly upon the plain

of Ourmiah. There are but few of them in the city itself, but they form a large part of the population of the villages in the vicinity. They belong to the same branch of the Nestorian Church with the independent and hardy population who reside among the mountains of Kurdistan. The seat of their Patriarch, Mar Shimon, is at Julamerik, a few days' journey from Ourmiah, in the heart of the Kurdish country. The missionaries have had some correspondence with the Patriarch, but, on account of the dangerous character of the country which intervenes, have never visited the region where he resides. The route lies through the territory of the Hakkari Kurds, the most ferocious and war-like of the mountain-tribes. It can only be travelled at great risk of life, and the missionaries have acted wisely in pursuing their work quietly upon the plain.

Great advantages, doubtless, would accrue, if a communication could be opened with the Nestorians of the interior. Julamerik is the great centre of their population, and probably there is to be found there the richest treasure of old Syriac learning now extant. The character of the people is also very superior, in some respects, to that of the Nestorians on the plain. These last, although possessing many interesting qualities, are bowed to the earth by oppression and misrule, a bondage which invariably debases both the intellectual and the moral character. Those of the interior, on the contrary, have many of those noble and generous traits peculiar to an independent mountain race. They are superior, even, to the Kurds about them, who hold them in great respect and fear. In the villages of the plain, the missionaries had established, already, fifteen schools, which were taught by natives, who had themselves received a partial

training. The provision was regarded as only a temporary one, until other more competent teachers should be prepared to take their place.

The missionaries are compelled to observe no restrictions in imparting religious instruction. In their freedom of access to the people, in the great confidence and love which is entertained for them, in the personal influence which they possess, both among the Christians and the Mohammedans, in the eagerness with which their instructions are received by the simple-minded Nestorians, they stand upon a more favourable footing than has been attained, in any other instance, among the Eastern Christians.

The reverence which is felt for them is very remarkable. I have no doubt, however, that it arises, in part, from the novelty and singularity of their work in the eyes of the Nestorians. Conceive a people, like those of Ourmiah, bowed down by oppression through long ages, until the remembrance of a better state has faded from their minds, accustomed to look on all around with distrust, and upon themselves as below the hope of kindness, and then imagine a company of men coming to them from the most distant parts of the earth, with a purely benevolent design for their welfare; proving the sincerity of their motives by sitting down among them, opening schools for their instruction, receiving them into their houses, healing their sick and counselling them in language of kindness never heard before, and all this without any other earthly reward than the pleasure of seeing them improve under their instruction, and it is easy to believe that such a people will look upon such benefactors with mingled emotions of astonishment, gratitude and love. The missionaries themselves, probably, will not be surprised if these emotions should de-

cline with increasing familiarity. It is a common infirmity of our nature to lose our sense of favours constantly bestowed upon us, as our poor return of gratitude for the ordinary mercies of Providence abundantly shows.

I observed nothing at Ourmiah with a deeper interest than the scenes of Saturday evening and Sunday. In the evening, after the sun had gone down, the inmates of the mission families assembled with the missionaries, to examine the lesson for the Sunday School. One of the missionaries expounded and the Bishop commented. I remember his raising an interesting question on the passage—*He that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.*—ST. MATT. XI. At an early hour on Sunday morning, the exercises of the school commenced with a prayer by one of the priests. The school was held in the out-building occupied by the boys. The Bishop and priests were the teachers. The classes were seated in circles upon the ground, the teachers sitting in the centre or standing without. I have seldom witnessed a more interesting spectacle than these boys presented, leaning forward over their books with the most eager attention. The lesson, as before intimated, was from the New Testament. The teachers appeared, by their fluency of utterance and their earnestness of manner, to be both well acquainted with the lesson and interested in it. The exercises were closed with the Episcopal benediction.

In the forenoon, the missionaries had a service in English for their own families. It was not at first expected that any of the Nestorians would be present at these services, but, at their own request, they were admitted. Though few of them were able to understand any thing that was said, they gave a fixed attention to the exercises. In the afternoon, a Bible Class met in

the school-room, where the morning services had been performed. It consisted of all who resided upon the premises, and the lesson was the same with that of the Sunday School. The exercises were conducted by the Bishop. A verse was first read by one of the boys in Syriac and then translated orally into the modern dialect by the Bishop, with appropriate comments upon it. He stood at the desk, and the eldest missionary by his side added an exposition and remarks in Turkish, for the benefit of a few who were present besides the Nestorians.

The position of Ourmiah is rather unfavourable to the health of foreigners. The ditch about the city is filled with stagnant water, which is covered with a green slime and emits baleful odours. The rice fields upon the plain are still more deleterious in their effects upon the climate, which, without these accidental evils, might be entirely salubrious. The weather was very fine during my visit, in the latter part of July. The heat was not oppressive, excepting at noon, while the mornings and evenings were delightfully calm and clear. I found it most comfortable to spend the nights out of doors.

In the vicinity of the city there are several mounds, which the missionaries conjecture to be the hills of the ancient fire-worshippers. There are strong appearances of their being, at least, artificial. Some have been excavated, and large walls or masses of stone, regularly laid, have been found within. Human bones have also been discovered. The plain, when viewed from one of these mounds, is beautiful beyond description. I have seen some of the most celebrated plains of ancient Bithynia, (a land abounding in natural beauty above all others that I have seen,) but none even there, which surpassed the plain of Ourmiah. In Persia I saw

nothing that equalled it. From the mound where I stood, it stretched off on one side to the blue lake, and on the other in a broad, circular sweep to the mountains. The whole interval, of vast extent, lies under the eye, covered with villages hidden among trees and abounding in the richest products of the earth. Grains and fruits of different kinds, cotton, rice and tobacco are yielded in profusion. The whole is a wide expanse of verdure, contrasting admirably with the brown sides and snow-crowned tops of the mountains.*

Before leaving Ourmiah I called upon the *Beyler Bey*,† or Governor, of the province, resident in the city. He was seated in a room, one side of which was open upon a court. He sat at the upper extremity and a line of visitors on either side of the apartment extended to the door. Others of inferior rank were waiting in the court without. The room was furnished in the ordinary Persian style, with a rich carpet in the middle and two *nummuds*, or carpets of felt, at the sides. The governor, as well as all his visitors, sat upon the carpets, having their backs against the wall. The Turk sits upon a kind of sofa, and is supported by upright cushions behind him.

The governor received us with a slight inclination of the body and a motion as if to rise, and invited us to places at his side. Instead of coffee, tea was handed round, sugared but without milk. This article in Persia, is of a very superior quality, and possesses a flavour peculiar to itself. Its excellence, it is said, is to be attributed to the fact that it is brought over land from China, transportation by sea having an injurious effect

* See Appendix, XI.

† Literally *Bey of Beys*, corresponding most nearly to *Pasha* among the Turks.

upon the qualities of the tea. The Persian sits upon his heels in the same manner that a servant does in Turkey. I endeavoured to imitate it, but found it less easy and less comfortable than the cross-legged posture of the Turks. I endured it, however, with the utmost civility, until I found that circulation had ceased, when I contrived to slip off my heels and sit upon the floor, avoiding, at the same time, the indecorum of showing my feet, by covering them with the skirts of my coat. The sketch which follows, represents the costume of a Persian, as well as his posture in sitting.

PERSIAN MIRZA.

One of the first questions which the Governor asked me was with regard to the pretended prophet that had

arisen in Georgia.* I had never heard of him before. He was supposed to be the lost Imam, who was to reappear and become the Head of the Mussulmans. A Mollah present had in his bosom a manuscript, which, he said, was the proclamation of the new prophet. He read it aloud to the company. It was in Persian and proved to be full of Oriental hyperbole and moral disquisitions. The Mollah was of opinion that the pretensions of the man were not to be slightly rejected; he might after all be the expected Imam. The company concurred in the wisdom of the opinion.

I may as well add here what I afterwards learned respecting this Mohammedan reformer. The Mussulmans of Tebriz reported wonderful things of him. He had made a tree, which had been dead fifty years, blossom in one hour and the next bear fruit. He had also performed miraculous cures of diseases, and had restored sight to the blind. The Russians seized him, and having shut him up in a room, closed the door-way with a brick wall, and placing guards above, below and around the apartment, left him with the consolation that, if he was the Imam, he would not perish. He said, "Very well," and submitted to his fate. The next morning he was seen abroad, in a desert place, at his prayers, and yet, when the wall was taken down, he was found within just where he had been left. The reader may doubt the reality of his appearance in the desert. I can only say that the Persians in Tebriz believed it.

A more authentic account of the man was given me by an English friend, who was in Georgia immediately after the events occurred. His own pretensions, said my friend, were very humble. He declared that he had no

* See Introduction, p. 43.

power to work miracles, and that he was a plain Mollah, seeking the restoration of his religion to its ancient purity. He preached against the corruptions which had befallen it, against the vices of the people and the unfaithfulness of the priests. His disciples multiplied rapidly. Twenty thousand armed men gathered around him, submissive to his will. He told them, however, that his appeal was not to arms, and he showed no disposition to use violence or to oppose the ruling authorities. The fears of the government, however, were roused. A troop of two hundred and fifty Russians were sent to apprehend him. They came to the place, found his house, a horse was led up to the door, and he was ordered to mount. His enraged followers prepared to resist, but he commanded them to be quiet, soothed them with calm words, and told them it was the will of God he should go to Tiflis. Upon this he mounted the horse and rode quietly away. The indignation of his followers, though restrained by his words, could not be entirely subdued. They sent a volley of stones after the retiring troop. 'Their numbers were such,' continued my informant, 'that, as one of the officers present assured me, if they had made any attempt at resistance, it would have been impracticable to have taken their leader.'

Just before leaving the city, I rode out one evening with Mr. Perkins to a village, about an hour distant. Our coming had been announced, and we were met at the entrance of the village by a troop of people who seemed overjoyed at the honour of a visit from Mr. P. I had often been struck with the great reverence with which the Nestorians regard the missionaries. The *Hekim Sahib*, (Sir Physician,) Dr. Grant, had already won considerable fame among the mountains of Kurdistan, and he related to me an instance, in which he

was saved from robbery by simply announcing himself under the name above given, by which he was generally known in the country around. His personal influence, gained by cures hardly less marvellous than miracles among a people almost entirely ignorant of the healing art, was very great. Kurds had come from the interior to get his aid, and had carried back his fame into the mountains, while the respect won by his professional skill among the Mussulmans of Ourmiah, had been of incalculable benefit to the mission.

On the whole, his experience had been a remarkable proof of the utility of the medical profession, in connexion with missionary operations. I need not say that his services were gratuitous, and that he esteemed the influence which they gave him, chiefly, for the advantages arising from it for accomplishing a better work upon the minds and hearts of the people. Being a layman, he had also the chief care of the secular concerns of the mission, a charge which always proves burdensome to missionaries themselves, and encroaches greatly on higher duties. Besides all this, his services, as a physician in the mission-families, were indispensable. So valuable are the lives of missionaries, after they have acquired a knowledge of the language and sufficient experience to be useful, that the expense of sustaining a physician among them is, in such a country as this, the best economy. John was so deeply impressed with what he saw and heard of the labours of Dr. Grant, that, for months after, his mind was full of plans for acquiring a knowledge of medicine in Constantinople, and returning to practise for his own benefit in Persia.

But I have almost lost sight of my story. Mr. P. and myself received a most hearty welcome from the vil-

lagers. Some of the old men embraced and kissed me. We were conducted to a roof, where carpets had been spread, and every thing provided that was necessary for our comfort. Presently an aged bishop, Mar Elias by name, came up to see us. He inquired about my route through Kurdistan, which he had once travelled himself, and expressed great joy at my safe arrival, saying, "God alone has brought you safely over so dangerous a road."

Our dinner was served up upon the roof where we sat, the bishop imploring a blessing in his own language. After the meal, conversation turned on various matters. At one time the clear blue sky above us attracted our attention. One of the company gave an amusing explanation of the milky way, which I omitted, afterwards, to record, and have now forgotten. The boy mentioned before as an inmate of the mission-families, was present. As soon as he learned the subject of conversation, he broke forth in a hymn which he had learned from his teachers. The lines were commemorative of the works of God. Two or three of the verses I happened to retain.

"He made the stars and made the comets,
Made the moon and milky way,
Made the sun and all the planets
Light for night and light for day.

"But the greatest work of Jesus
Was to leave his throne on high,
And from sin and hell to save us
Bleed and die on Calvary.

"Precious Saviour, wilt thou hear us
When we pray—*Remember me!*
When we die may angels bear us
Up to Heaven, to dwell with Thee."

He repeated the whole in English. The quietness of the scene around us, the silence of the company, and the yet untrained accents of the boy, rendered the act peculiarly impressive.

The bishop left us at an early hour; beds were brought and spread upon the roof, and we slept on the same spot where we had dined and talked. Before returning to the city the next morning, we visited the school-room, this being one of the villages where the missionaries have established a school. The apartment was remarkably neat, and the slates, hanging against the walls, gave it a very familiar appearance.

CHAPTER XX.

JOURNEY FROM OURMIAH TO KHOY.

DETERMINE TO TRAVEL BY NIGHT—PLAN OF JOURNEY—DEPARTURE—ROBBERY—CLOUDS—THE BISHOP'S FATHER—LAKE OF OURMIAH—GARDEN AT DILMAN—NIGHT-TRAVELLING—ROADS IN THE EAST—PLAIN OF KHOY.

I HAD thus far persevered in travelling by day, though I had suffered by it an attack of fever in Kurdistan, and my face and hands had been burned to a blister. Having now accomplished my tour in that country, and entered among scenes which had been often described by others, I determined to proceed the rest of the way to Tebriz by night, although I should thus be precluded from gaining any knowledge of the face of the country, or, as I must sleep by day, any additional acquaintance with the people. My wish was to go round the southern extremity of the lake of Ourmiah and visit Maragha, on its eastern shore. But the Kurds along its border being at that time in a troubled state, and thinking that all the observations which I could make at night would poorly compensate for the danger of the road, I concluded to retrace my steps as far as Dilman, and to make a diversion from the aroute round the north end of the lake, so as to visit Khoy, the first city in entering Persia by the common route from Erzroum, and the only place, along that route, which I was desirous to see.

John expressed himself much relieved by the change in my plans, and soon found a muleteer to accompany us.

We started about two hours before sunset, on the 27th of July. Mr. Perkins and Mr. Stocking, the latter gentleman a lay teacher connected with the mission, accompanied us three hours on our road. Another gentleman, the Rev. Mr. S——, a missionary to the Jews, and himself a converted Israelite, joined our party to proceed to Tebriz. He was the same who had been robbed on his way to Ourmiah, a week or two before. He was set upon by half a dozen ruffians, who knocked him from his horse, led him away, with his arms pinioned and his eyes blindfolded, to a retired place, where they stripped him at their leisure; and so thorough were they in the work, that they left nothing upon him besides a shirt, a pair of drawers and a hat. By the aid of some villagers he reached Ourmiah, where one of the missionaries supplied him with clothes. For the sake of greater safety, he concluded to return with me to Tebriz, and, as his money had gone with his other effects, he shared my purse upon the road. This was the only instance in all my travels, excepting a subsequent excursion from Constantinople to Broussa, where I had the society of one who spoke my own language. As I rode along in pleasant conversation with my Ourmiah friends, the contrast with the customary loneliness of my journeys and the thought of the long way that I must tread alone, was, for the moment, dreadfully oppressive. As the sun went down, I was astonished at my own surprise on seeing a light cloud floating in the west. It was the first I had seen in Persia, where, during the summer months, the sky preserves the same unchanging blue for weeks and months together. Of course, there is no

rain; the earth is parched and hard, and cultivation depends entirely on irrigation.

We stopped, for a few hours repose, at Ghulunju, where, on mounting again, Mr. P. and Mr. S. bade us adieu. We then rode on to Gavlan, nearer the lake than our former station, Tchumgarah, and farther on our road. The father of Mar Yohanna resided in the village. When we arrived, he was abroad, gathering in his harvest, but he soon returned, on hearing of our coming, and welcomed us to his house. We spent the day under his roof, and a part of the next night upon it. At sunset we went down to the lake and bathed. The temperature of the water was at blood-heat, and its taste more saline even than that of the ocean. We found it more buoyant also, owing to its greater specific gravity. The shore was crusted with salt, and we found our bodies in the same state soon after emerging from the water. It is very shallow, no where, it is said, exceeding five feet in depth. Hence none but small boats are used on its surface, and these are few in number. I waded out one eighth of a mile from the shore, and found the depth, at that distance, about three feet. The water was so dense as to lift us almost entirely above the surface in floating, and we were unable, without some effort, to recover an upright position again, after the operation of swimming. The effect of the water we found very invigorating, though, if the truth was told us, there are no fish to be found in it. The lake, besides that of Ourmiah, bears the name of Shahee, from a place on its eastern border.

When we left, our good host led the way out of the village, which we could not thread in the dark, and then dismissed us with his blessing. We rode over the country where Mr. S. had been robbed—a circumstance which

had, at least, the happy effect to keep us wakeful. We ended our stage at Dilman. To avoid the heat of the town, we obtained permission to spend the day in one of the gardens without, but we did not know till just before we left it, that it belonged to a sister of the Effendi, at whose house we had met so hospitable a reception. The Effendi was still absent from home, and, as ceremony did not require us to call upon his wife, or permit us to speak of her, we contented ourselves with sending our selam, after the usual form, to the "house" in general. The gardens of Persia are commonly without the towns, and enclosed by walls of earth. The one in which we reposed, was several acres in extent and contained, besides the fruit trees, a grove of poplars, whose slender forms afforded a very inadequate shelter from the sun.

We resumed our march one hour after sunset, just as the shadows of evening were closing over the plain. We had heard, during the day, of a new robbery which had just been committed on the very road that we were to travel during the night, and we put ourselves in the best state of defence that our circumstances permitted. We escaped with difficulty the numerous canals which intersected the plain, and continued our way over a low ground for one or two hours to the north-west, as nearly as I could judge by the stars, and afterwards to the north-east. The coolness was peculiarly refreshing, after the great heat of the day. The sky was clear and the stars seemed more brilliant than I had ever seen them before. The perfect stillness, disturbed only at long intervals by the baying of dogs as we passed near some village, had a soporific as well as a meditative effect. I conversed with my companion until every common topic of interest was exhausted. I smoked a pipe, and counted every familiar star that shone over

my boyhood's home. But all in vain; no sense of duty or danger, nor conversation, nor fond recollections, could expel the untimely intruder, and, long before morning came, we were all nodding upon our horses. Towards the latter part of our stage, we appeared to descend into a plain, and were soon effectually roused by encountering a party, who rode up and accosted us. John advanced to parley, and seeing there were but two, he answered their questions without much ceremony. He took care, however, to let them understand that our numbers were double theirs, and soon after receiving this information, they rode away. They were well armed, and John thought they looked very suspicious. Some one suggested that they might belong to a larger party, in which case, probably, we had not seen the last of them. The thought operated as a strong somnifuge, for we slept no more that night, and, though, perhaps, our apprehensions had been groundless, we felt considerably relieved when we saw day breaking in the East. We passed, between dawn and sunrise, several hills from which salt is taken in nearly a pure state, and struck the road between Khoy and Tebriz, where a good bridge crossed a stream that was now reduced to a mere thread. The rest of our way lay over the plain of Khoy, along a road which was the best that I saw in the East, excepting only the post-road of the Sultan, between Constantinople and Nicomedia, and a portion of another in the direction of Adrianople. Excepting these, and the poor causeways in Asiatic Turkey, constructed during the reign of the late Sultan, for the transportation of cannon, the reader may generally understand, when I speak of *roads*, simple footpaths, such as may be seen across pasture grounds in New-England. The country over which they pass is, for the most part,

in the state in which nature left it. Sometimes, among the mountains, the difficulties of the way have been relieved by the labour of man, where they would otherwise have proved impassable, but, seldom is this effected to such a degree as to make a commodious path. It is singular to meet, on such roads as these, excellent bridges of stone or brick. Often, however, they are wanting, and the traveller is compelled to make his way by fording, which, at certain seasons of the year, is not always an easy or a safe task.

The road across the plain of Khoy was bordered by willows, which must once have been beautiful, but are now in a sadly neglected state. At short distances the road was cut through by canals, over which there was no passage but little pathways, three or four feet wide. The plain itself, which is of nearly a circular form, and, as I judged by the eye, about twelve miles in diameter, is pronounced by Morier, who traversed the greater part of Persia, the finest in the country. Morier, however, did not visit the plain of Ourmiah, which far surpasses it, both in natural beauty and in the variety of its products.

CHAPTER XXI.

KHOY. JOURNEY TO TEBRIZ.

GARBS—A PILGRIM—CARAVANSERAIS—MOHAMMEDAN IDEA OF CHRISTIANITY—DANGEROUS MEDICINE—PERSIAN PREJUDICE AGAINST MEN OF OTHER RELIGIONS—CLIMATE—BAZARS—POPULATION—MOUNTAINS—PERSIAN HAREM—ARRIVAL AT TEBRIZ.

OUR muleteer conducted us to an excellent caravanserai in Khoy, where I was pleased to find myself not so great an object of curiosity as on the plains of Salmas and Ourmiah. I had, on entering Persia, divested myself, as far as possible, of my Turkish garb, but, having no other covering for my head, I was obliged to retain the fez until I reached Tebriz, where I exchanged it for the black lamb-skin cap of the Persians. Khoy lying so near the border of Turkey, and on the great route from Erzroum, the red cap and turban of the Turk was not so strange in its streets as in the villages of Salmas and Ourmiah.

One of the lodgers at the caravanserai was a pilgrim from Mecca. He had taken up his quarters in the court, and was an object of great curiosity. From morning to night, a crowd were gathered around him, listening to his stories of the Holy City, and the respect which was shown him was truly remarkable. He had sent out his horse, to regale himself for a few days on the plain, and some one, not recognizing probably that the animal had been on a pilgrimage, had conveyed him away. Com-

plaint was made to the Governor, who sent officers in search of the thief, and promised the poor pilgrim that, if they were not successful, he would himself supply his loss by another equally good.

Our caravanserai was of one story and of brick, the principal particulars in which a Persian *caravanserai* differs from a Turkish *khan*, the words being only two names of the same thing, in different languages. In Persia, also, the building is often of two stories, especially when it is designed to afford rooms for merchants or tradesmen. When there is but one story, the building is generally elevated immediately over the arched entrance, thus affording space for an airy and comfortable room above. We had wished to occupy it in the present instance, but John assured us that it was intended as a place for the lodgers to say their prayers. He only made too broad an inference from what he had often seen practised. The room is much used for this purpose, though not designed exclusively for it. We concluded, however, that, being ourselves lodgers, our privilege was the same as others; accordingly, we occupied it for an hour, on Sunday morning, in reading the daily service of the American church.

The next day, while walking in the bazars, I was accosted by a well-dressed Persian and invited to sit down with him, a piece of politeness much more common in Persia than in Turkey. He offered me the *kalioun*, (water-pipe,) and made many inquiries concerning my object in travelling. He could not understand me when I told him it was for purposes of observation, and could not conceive of any man, in his senses, travelling for any other reason than necessity. He asked many questions about England, especially about the religion of the country. I described to him, as well as I could, the

character of the English church, and pointed out the difference between Eastern and Western Christianity. He expressed himself much pleased to hear that certain corruptions which he had been accustomed to associate with Christianity, were no essential parts of it, but accidental appendages which Western Christians had cast off. He had never before heard that picture-worship did not belong to our religion, as he had always understood it to be practised by Eastern Christians. When he had finished his inquiries, I began, and asked him if he had ever read the New Testament. He had read, he replied, Martyn's translation, and spoke highly of it. He had also heard of Martyn himself, and said that he was a good man. Much more conversation of the same character passed between us, and I went away more pleased than ever with the accessibleness and affability of Persians.

Before we left Ourmiah, Mar Yohanna had endeavoured to dissuade us from visiting Khoy, and, when he could not prevail, he shook hands with us at parting, and predicted that we should not be a day in the place without an attack of fever and ague. I was so fortunate as to escape, but Sunday had not passed before Mr. S. was prostrated. I spread a carpet for him in the elevated apartment before mentioned, and he retired thither to be sick. He undertook to prescribe for himself and asked for a dose of calomel. I had procured from an apothecary in Pera, a few simple medicines before leaving Constantinople, and among these was a vial purporting, on the label, to contain the article required. I took out a portion and was about to administer it, when Mr. S. happened to observe that it was a solid substance, instead of a powder, and refused to receive it. I reasoned with him, in vain, on the improbability of its being any thing

else than the desired medicine. He had often seen calomel, which I had not, and positively declined the dose. It proved afterwards to be a deadly poison, the apothecary's boy having mistaken the muriate of quicksilver, (corrosive sublimate,) for the sub-muriate of the same mineral, (calomel.) I had myself been prevented from taking a dose of it, while ill in Kurdistan, only by fear of opening my baggage in the presence of the Kurds. The reader will remember that, until within a few weeks of my departure from Constantinople, I had remained in expectation of being accompanied in my tour by a gentleman acquainted with medical science. It was this expectation alone which had prevented me from seeking some knowledge of the same kind for myself.

The medicine failing, Mr. S. requested a bath. There was a fine one connected with the caravanserai, but the keeper refused to admit us, as it would give offence to the Mussulmans, we being Christians and unclean. He offered, however, to receive us by night, at the hour when the bath was ordinarily closed. We felt that our religion was insulted by the offer, and declined accepting it. Mr. S. then sent a servant to borrow a basin for the purpose of bathing his feet. One was, at length, procured, and the owner came with it, apparently to see that it was not appropriated to any unlawful use. Before it could be applied to the service for which it was borrowed, Mr. S. was seized with a fit of vomiting, and, unwilling to defile his carpet, resorted for relief to the basin, which happened, at the moment, to be in his hands. The owner stood transfixed with utter consternation, and it was only after paying for the hire of the vessel a price equal to its full value, that we could induce him to take his own again.

The reader will pardon the story for the sake of the

moral. It is in this particular of the ceremonial uncleanness of a man of another religion, that the Persians differ most widely from the Turks—most widely, I mean, so far as regards those things which meet most frequently the observation of the traveller. On this point, the Persians generally receive their opinions and practice from education. Their religious directories are, as I have already observed, most minute concerning it, even to indecency. There are many, especially among men in public stations, who are entirely neglectful of such precepts, and they are strictly followed only by the religious orders and the common people. Among the former, they are doubtless mingled with bigoted feelings and regarded in a very serious light. Among the latter, it seems a mere matter of unthinking imitation. They are strict in some points and negligent in others. They are careful to avoid the most prominent and notorious uncleannesses, while they are constantly polluting themselves with those which, though of less importance, are equally forbidden. A servant sometimes will not eat of a dish of which his Christian master has partaken, and yet he will suffer himself to be rendered religiously impure in a thousand other ways. These notions, therefore, should not be considered as indicative always of bigotry or even of sincere attachment to Islamism. There are many who rigidly practise upon them, who can boast no religion besides them, who never perform the stated prayers or observe any other precept of their faith.

Notwithstanding the Bishop's opinion and our own experience at Khoy, the men of the city would not acknowledge that either was correct, but spoke in high terms of the salubrity of their climate. It may be so for them, but the excessive heat and the sultry atmosphere, which hung round the adjacent mountains, glowing like

the air of a furnace, were portentous indications of danger to us. We wished to leave on Sunday night, but the ill health of Mr. S. detained us two days longer, and at the same time, confined me so much to the caravanserai that I saw little of the city. The most remarkable objects which I observed, were the bazars, which were built of brick and vaulted, with domes of the same material. They extended in a single line from the gateway to the heart of the town, with branches, at short intervals, running down to the caravanserais. I walked from my room to the gate of the city, a distance of three eighths of a mile, under this brick canopy. The brick edifices are the most remarkable in Persia, and every traveller observes with astonishment the great beauty and durability of the arches and domes constructed with no other materials than burnt clay and mortar. Khoy, I was told, contains 8000 families, but, although I received the same information from several individuals, it appeared to me, from other indications, exaggerated. Mr. S. made inquiries for Jews. "There are none in the city," said the Mussulman to whom the question was put, "there are none in the city, *Al hamd-u-lillah*, thank God!"

Our muleteer was a man of Dilman. He had engaged to convey us to Tebriz, but, finding at Khoy a good opportunity to return home, he suddenly fell sick, execrated the climate of the city, and told us he could proceed no farther. We consented to release him from his engagement, provided he would obtain another to take his place. He soon found a muleteer belonging to Tebriz, and made us over to him. The effect of his release upon his health was very apparent. He suddenly reassumed a cheerful and contented look, laid aside his moping gait, and went off the same night, with a good load, to Dilman.

Mr. S., though still feeble, was able to leave on Tuesday evening, and we started at sunset. The distance to Tebriz is about ninety miles, which we performed in three nights. After leaving the plain, we ascended among the mountains, which run down to the head of the lake of Ourmiah, and which travellers have described as of difficult and dangerous passage, even by day. The darkness hid the danger from our eyes, but only increased the difficulty. As we could not see the path, nor each other, our horses were left to their own guidance, and, doubtless, conveyed us more safely than if we had attempted to guide them ourselves. The lake is discernible from the heights, but we had reached the plain on the opposite side before the day broke.

From these mountains to Tebriz, the country seemed one uninterrupted level. We stopped, the second morning, in Dizeh Halil, at the house of one of the most respectable men of the village, who caused his harem to be vacated for our reception. The occupants decamped in such haste as to leave every thing in its customary state and place, and I had the gratification of seeing, for the first time, a Persian harem, though an humble one. It consisted of one large room with two smaller ones adjacent, the latter being intended as receptacles for the beds which at night are spread upon the ground. The principal apartment was neatly plastered, and the whole furniture consisted of the Persian carpets which covered the floor. The room was lighted by one large latticed window, which occupied the whole side of the room, looking upon the court. The doorways were screened by large, heavy curtains hanging before them. In the centre of the ceiling overhead, was an inscription taken from the Koran, whose sacred words, according to the superstition of the Mussulmans, are efficacious to preserve the person

or place that bears them from harm.* In the niches of the walls were displayed all the articles of a Persian toilet; here a mirror, ornamented with the face of a Persian lady, there a bag of *surmeh*,† with a bodkin of sandal-wood for its application; here combs and perfumes interspersed, and there one of those pieces of clay,‡ which the Persians use in their devotions, and which, in the present instance, seemed to show that the place had some better uses than the display of worldly vanity. We left the room and the house in the evening, and, travelling till day over the plain, entered Tebriz with the sun, through a long line of villages and gardens.

* The reader will be reminded of the phylacteries of the Jews; the superstitions of the Mohammedans, on this point, being one of the innumerable particulars in which their religion resembles corrupted Judaism.

† A powder used by Eastern ladies for staining the eye-brows and eye-lashes.

‡ These articles are made of sacred earth, taken from the tomb of some saint. They are in small cakes of different forms, and all that I have seen bore inscriptions. In performing his devotions, the Persian places one of them before him, and, as he bows his head to the earth, touches his forehead to it, thus, as he believes, deriving all the benefits of worshipping upon holy ground.